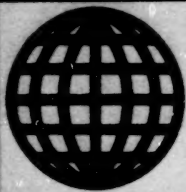


JPRS-EER-88-102  
30 NOVEMBER 1988



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-102

## CONTENTS

30 NOVEMBER 1988

### POLITICAL

#### BULGARIA

- Law Establishes New Air Navigation Organization [DURZHAVEN VESTNIK 13 Sep] ..... 1

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Status of Basic Research Examined [RUDE PRAVO 24 Oct] ..... 3

#### HUNGARY

- 'Traditional Communist' Trade Union Leader Proposes Elimination of Worker Guard  
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Sep] ..... 7
- Tax Burden Significantly Higher for Private Sector [MAGYAR HIRLAP 13 Oct] ..... 8
- Lawyers Call for New Cooperative Law To Include Ownership Rights [NEPSZAVA 17 Oct] ..... 9
- MSZMP Archives Opened To Assist Researchers [NEPSZAVA 17 Oct] ..... 9
- KISZ Open Letter Warns of Strained Tempers at Universities [MAGYAR NEMZET 17 Oct] ..... 9

#### POLAND

- POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup [POLITYKA 8 Oct] ..... 10
- Krol Outlines Minimum Conditions for Constructive Reform  
[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 18 Sep] ..... 13
- Youth Oppositionist on Dated Solidarity Visions, Recent Favorable Trends  
[KONFRONTACJE Jul-Aug] ..... 14
- Reader Suggests Memorial to Stalin's Victims in Poland [KONFRONTACJE Sep] ..... 18

#### YUGOSLAVIA

- Markovic Defends Letter Denouncing Milosevic Tactics [DANAS 13 Sep] ..... 18
- Appeal for Harmony in Macedonian Daily [NOVA MAKEDONIJA 17 Sep] ..... 22

### ECONOMIC

#### BULGARIA

- Bulgarian Economic Reform Efforts Described, Praised [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 9 Sep] ..... 24

#### HUNGARY

- Livestock Losses Increase Because of Lack of Modernization [NEPSZABADSAG 17 Oct] ..... 25

#### POLAND

- Economic Society Sponsors Meeting of Polish, Soviet Economists [RZECZPOSPOLITA 29 Sep] ... 26
- State Control of Economy Faulted; Political Reform Too Little, Too Late  
[TRYBUNA LUDU 9 Sep] ..... 26
- Economic, Social Costs of Market Reform Viewed [POLITYKA 1 Oct] ..... 29
- Alterations to System Improving Wage Relations Between Enterprises  
[RZECZPOSPOLITA 15 Sep] ..... 30
- Costly Nowa Huta Modernization, 'Sanitization' Efforts [RZECZPOSPOLITA 22 Sep] ..... 31

**ROMANIA**

Higher Wages To Improve Standard of Living [REVISTA ECONOMICA 30 Sep] .....	32
Contribution of Research in Chemical Industry Reviewed [REVISTA ECONOMICA 30 Sep] .....	33
Development of Machine-Tool Industry Examined [REVISTA ECONOMICA 12 Aug] .....	37

**YUGOSLAVIA**

Reform Essential To Remedy Housing Crisis [DANAS 27 Sep] .....	39
--	----

**SOCIAL**

**BULGARIA**

Head of Varna Women's Organization Interviewed on Social Issues [OTECHESTVEN FRONT 8 Sep] .....	43
--	----

## BULGARIA

### Law Establishes New Air Navigation Organization

22000004 Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian  
13 Sep 88 pp 1-3

[Ministry of Transportation Regulation on the Structure and Activities of the State Air Navigation Inspectorate]

[Text]

#### Section I

#### General Stipulations

Article 1. The State Air Navigation Inspectorate (DVI), referred to, for the sake of brevity, as "the inspectorate," is an agency of the Ministry of Transportation (MT) in charge of supervising civil air navigation in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Article 2. The inspectorate will perform the functions of a civil air navigation administration, assigned to the MT in accordance with the Law on Civil Air Navigation (ZGV) and international conventions to which the Bulgarian People's Republic is a signatory.

Article 3. The territorial competence of the DVI will extend on the entire airspace of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the controlled airspace over the Black Sea.

Article 4. The competence of the DVI will extend over Bulgarian civil air navigation in the country and Bulgarian aviation personnel and aviation means abroad as well as foreign air navigation facilities flying over the airspace of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Article 5. The inspectorate will conduct its control activities jointly with the Committee for State and People's Control, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of National Defense and other control organs of the MT and the air navigation organizations.

#### Section II

#### Basic Functions and Tasks

Article 6. The State Air Navigation Inspectorate will:

1. Provide state control over the observance of the legal regulations on civil air navigation safety in our country;
2. Define the regulatory stipulations concerning security and technical and economic operation and the designing, production, maintenance and repairs of air navigation facilities, airfields and airstrips and installations serving air traffic;

3. Approve the laws drafted by civil air navigation organizations regulating the organization, implementation and accountability of air navigation activities;
4. Control the procedure and regimen of flights in civilian air navigation;
5. Issue permission for the flight of foreign air navigation facilities over the airspace of the Bulgarian People's Republic;
6. Approve the seasonal and annual schedules of domestic flights;
7. Control specific professional and qualification conditions governing the selection, training and qualifying and controls equipment related to the piloting, flying and practical work in the air and on the ground of all categories of aviation personnel;
8. Issue qualification permits to the aviation personnel, the flight worthiness of air navigation facilities and adequacy of airfields and flight strips and air traffic control facilities;
9. Allow changes in the design, engines and equipment of air navigation facilities;
10. Issue agreements on designing and building airfields, airstrips, buildings and installations, high tension and low tension cables and conduct other activities in the areas of airfields and air corridors;
11. Control the drafting and allow the publication of air navigation information.

Article 7. The inspectorate will investigate accidents involving air navigation facilities on the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic and issue conclusions on their causes.

#### Article 8.

1. The inspectorate will represent the Bulgarian People's Republic in international conferences on civil air navigation.
2. The inspectorate will study global experience and submit it for application.
3. The inspectorate will inform interested parties on differences between national legislation and the standards and recommendations of the ICAO.

Article 9. The inspectorate will analyze the safety conditions of air transportation and submit proposals to the respective authorities.

Article 10. The inspectorate will levy administrative penalties as per the ZGV.



Article 11. The inspectorate will inform the investigated enterprises and organizations, including through the use of the mass information media, of the results of checks and investigations.

Article 12. The inspectorate will have its specific emblem, sign and inscription.

Article 13. The seal of the inspectorate will depict the state seal of the Bulgarian People's Republic and air navigation inspectors will have their own personal shields with a respective number.

Article 14. The DVI will charge fees in accordance with the procedures stipulated by the minister of transportation for services rendered as per the Law on Civil Air Navigation.

### Section III

#### Structure

Article 15. The structure and personnel of the DVI will be established by the minister of transportation.

Article 16.

1. The seat of the inspectorate will be Sofia, with regional inspectorates in the airfields of Sofia, Varna and Burgas and the agricultural aviation.
2. The regional inspectorates will be authorities of the DVI and will function on a year-round basis or during periods of intensified flying activities, by decision of the DVI chief.

Article 17.

1. The inspectorate will be headed by a chief appointed by the minister of transportation.
2. The chief of the DVI will head and organize DVI activities as an air navigation administrative authority in charge of civil air navigation.

Article 18.

1. The chief of the DVI will submit proposals to the minister of transportation on restricting or denying individual enterprises the right to engage in air navigation activities should they violate safety requirements.
2. The chief of the DVI has the right to annul orders, instructions and other acts issued by the air navigation organizations in violation of the ZGV and regulations governing its application.

Article 19.

1. The chief of the DVI may assign to the civil air navigation organization which owns an air navigation

facility to study accidents and breakdowns in air navigation facilities, with the exception of accidents involving air navigation facilities transporting passengers, mail and freight.

2. The conclusion from the investigation of an aviation accident, conducted by the air navigation organization, must be approved by the chief of the DVI.

Article 20. The chief of the DVI may issue penal decrees to crews and for violations of the ZGV and other legal acts.

Article 21. The rights and obligations of DVI inspectors will be determined on the basis of this regulation and the job descriptions approved by the minister of transportation.

Article 22. Air navigation inspectors have the right:

1. To visit at any time civil air navigation organizations and air navigation facilities, airfields, flight strips, airports, hangars, workshops, traffic control centers, and radio engineering equipment for flight safety and other projects and services;
2. To check the documents of civil air navigation organizations, aviation personnel and air navigation facilities, airfields, strips and technical equipment related to the organization, conduct and control of flights;
3. To issue instructions and written recommendations on discovered shortcomings related to flight safety and demand the correction of said shortcomings within stipulated deadlines;
4. To dismiss aviation personnel should their actions endanger the security of flights, for which they must inform their immediate superior;
5. To demand the necessary documents and oral and written explanations of any official in the civil air navigation organizations in the case of established shortcomings and in the investigation of accidents;
6. To forbid in writing the flight of crews and air navigation facilities and the use of airfields, flight strips and technical equipment which do not meet legal requirements;
7. To draw up legal documents on established violations of the ZGV.

Article 23. Air navigation inspectors must:

1. Participate in investigations of air navigation organizations;
2. Participate in the investigation of aviation accidents;
3. Check the legality of documents issued by civil air navigation organizations;
4. Stop the implementation of orders, instructions or other legal acts issued by the air navigation organizations in violation of the ZGV or other laws;

5. Improve their training.

Article 24. The minister of transportation will approve an annual plan for flight and production assignments carried out by DVI inspectors in air navigation organizations. The planning must be based on instructions issued by the DVI chief.

Article 25. The air navigation inspector will have an inspector's card which will be issued by the DVI chief and approved for each subsequent year by 30 December of the current year. The inspector's card of the chief of the DVI will be issued and initialed by the minister of transportation.

Article 26.

1. The chief of the DVI may issue cards to supernumerary associates according to a list approved by the minister of transportation.
2. The supernumerary associates will have the rights and obligations of DVI inspectors. They may issue stipulations and draw up legal documents.
3. The supernumerary associates must submit periodical accounts to the DVI chief on their activities.

Article 27. The DVI inspectors will have the same rights as those based on the specific working conditions of aviation personnel in the civil aviation system of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Article 28. In exercising their official obligations, the DVI inspectors will travel free of charge in Bulgarian air navigation facilities by presenting of their inspector's card, and use the means of communications of the organizations under the MT.

Article 29. The DVI personnel and their families will have the right to free tickets for flying Bulgarian and foreign air navigation facilities in accordance with the procedures stipulated for civil aviation personnel.

**Additional Stipulations**

1. All air navigation organizations, enterprises and officials engaged in the implementation or participating in the implementation of civil air navigation activities must provide assistance to the DVI authorities in the performance of their official obligations.
2. The present regulation is issued on the basis of Articles 8 and 153 of the Civil Air Navigation Law and Article 7 of the Regulation on the Functioning and Activities of the Ministry of Transportation and invalidates the DVI regulation (DV, No 49, 1987).

Minister: V. Tsanov

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

**Status of Basic Research Examined**

24000019 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
24 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Eng Ladislav Bardos, candidate of sciences, chief scientific worker and chairman of the Committee of the Basic Organization of the CPCZ at the Physics Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Prof Vaclav Gardavsky, doctor of natural sciences, candidate of sciences, director of the Geographic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; academician Stanislav Kubik, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Information Theory and Automation of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Frantisek Marec, doctor of natural sciences, candidate of sciences, scientific worker at the Entomological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences at the South Bohemian Biological Center at Ceske Budejovice; and Stanislav Zadrazil, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, deputy director of the Institute of Molecular Genetics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, by RUDE PRAVO correspondents Stanislav Stibor and Rostislav Valasek: "Time Is Not the Sole Prerogative of Sprinters"; first two paragraphs are RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Scientific workers are frequently criticized for not paying society back for its support of basic research. At that, few people doubt that scientific-technical development, for which supportive and orientational points along the way are provided precisely by basic research, is indispensable to the further development of social production forces and of society in general. What is going on? Is our basic research far removed from practice or close to practice? Can it do more for the practical side than it has done hitherto? What is standing in its way? What are the principal tasks awaiting our scientific front in the process of restructuring the national economy and the life of society?

These questions are pondered by the participants of our interview discussion: Eng Ladislav Bardos, candidate of sciences, chief scientific worker and chairman of the Committee of the Basic Organization of the CPCZ at the Physics Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Prof Vaclav Gardavsky, doctor of natural sciences, candidate of sciences, director of the Geographic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; academician Stanislav Kubik, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Information Theory and Automation of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Frantisek Marec, doctor of natural sciences, candidate of sciences, scientific worker at the Entomological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences at the South Bohemian Biological Center at Ceske Budejovice; and Stanislav

Zadrazil, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, deputy director of the Institute of Molecular Genetics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

[RUDE PRAVO] The first question addressed to participants of the discussion was aimed at the possibilities for increasing the efficiency of basic research.

[Kubik] If the efficiency of scientific research is to be increased, it is essential to correctly determine its decisive directions and the appropriate work sites must be equipped to handle these tasks. I have in mind both manpower, in other words, specialists, who are appropriately familiar with the problems at hand, as well as equipment. And we must know as early as the initial stages what the basic research project outcome is likely to be and where the achieved results should be applied.

[Gardavsky] The continuing dispersion of our basic research is an immense luxury. Basic research is done at the academy, at advanced schools, and even at some industry institutes. In a number of disciplines, an overly restrictive industrywide approach persists with regard to the solution of tasks. The efficiency of our basic research could be increased if we were to succeed in concentrating scientific-research capacities far more effectively than heretofore; in this regard, I have in mind the gray matter possessed by scientific workers, as well as material resources.

[Zadrazil] The results of basic research do in fact depend, primarily, on the manner in which we can and will utilize that which is given to us. It makes no difference whether it is the possibility of recruiting cadres, of effectively realizing limited financial resources, of assuring material support at the appropriate levels—that is to say, industrial products for science from abroad as well as from domestic resources.

[Bardos] We must distinguish between the immediate effect of basic research in practice, which is being called for today, and results for the future. Both are necessary because if we fail to deal with research for the future today, then we lose contact with the world and we will have nothing to offer in the future. Without understanding the essence of manifestations, in other words, without basic research, science cannot be applied in practice.

We continue to lack the overall social climate which would support science. I believe that the situation in this regard is deteriorating. Industrial enterprises or the entire application sphere is economizing in the expenditure of resources in conjunction with restructuring of the economic mechanism and is afraid to undertake anything jointly with science because, whether we like it or not, there are certain risks. We are supposed to introduce new things, but, at the same time, we are afraid that they will cost us money. And it is not guaranteed anywhere that things will succeed so that few people are willing to take a risk. Furthermore, in order for us to be able to

utilize the results of basic research, we need a strong experimental base as a joining link between basic research and its application. But we do not even have enough artisans to assure the production of experimental installations. Those whom we do have are aging and are retiring and there are no young ones because we pay them poorly at the academy. They can earn more elsewhere.

[Zadrazil] I am not even speaking about the development of new projects. This is a question of 10 to 15 years so that at our institute in Dejvice we are no longer capable of taking on additional manpower. If we have resources for wages, then we cannot offer them appropriate working space.

[RUDE PRAVO] How do you judge the young scientific generation? What is typical of it and how does it differ from the "old" schools? What should be improved with respect to scientific education?

[Gardavsky] Advanced school education, its system, and particularly the exaggerated uniformity which strives to provide a unified study plan for all faculties, is a long way from being able to form certain "schools." I have in mind scientific schools as they were personified in the past by outstanding personalities in our science. At advanced schools, little attention is being devoted to stimulating and developing the capabilities of gifted students. The actual entry into the most productive period of scientific life in this country is very late in comparison with other countries. I have had the opportunity of encountering conditions at several foreign universities. There, they notice talented students during the course of study. And that which we call an individual study plan is a natural phenomenon in these cases. We, in our country, measure talented students at faculties against the yardstick of the study average, according to the red diplomas they receive. However, let us say that these are auxiliary criteria. They tell about the average. But what is then the difference between a red diploma and a blue diploma in practice?

[Marec] The advanced schools do have a relatively high theoretical level, but an extremely weak methodological foundation. People who move to scientific work sites after finishing school are unfamiliar with contemporary methods necessary for them to work at adequate levels. However, it is also true that students do not have the opportunity of becoming familiar with the latest results of science at all schools and in all disciplines. Frequently, problems or findings which are perhaps even 20 years old are presented. Advanced school workers lack the time to perform their own specialized work and to undergo development; frequently, they are not even required to do so.

On the subject of actual scientific education, I would say that, for example, in its current conceptions, graduate study [aspirantura] is characterized by a whole lot of lost



time. For example, language examinations. We are learning to passively translate that which we should have mastered during the period of advanced school study. On the other hand, I believe that courses in the appropriate specialty would be useful. We take tests with respect to the specialized graduate study minimum levels, but there are no appropriate courses. In the South Bohemian Biological Center we solved this problem by providing courses, seminars, or lectures for graduate students.

I personally experienced how things are involving material support for young scientific workers. A young person experiences considerable economic difficulties during the time when he is actually starting a family, and while his head is still clean and while he can and wants to really devote himself to his work. The enormous advantage of Ceske Budejovice over Prague is that the South Bohemian Biological Center has quarters for young people.

[Zadrazil] We are constantly searching for methods of increasing the activity of teachers and scientific graduates—actually, of all scientific workers employed at basic research work sites. We have good experiences with 10 years of activity of the so-called School of Molecular Biology for graduate students in all interested industries. We organize these training sessions each year in 14-day cycles. The Institute of Molecular Genetics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was also present at the birth of a new study direction involving molecular biology and genetics at the Natural Science Faculty of Charles University in Prague. Experiences involving new forms of scientific training for graduate students led the management of the academy to recommend this procedure even for other disciplines. Today, there already exists a proposal for specific courses and seminars which place the main emphasis on intradisciplinary methodology and a problems approach.

[RUDE PRAVO] Does the management of the academy speak of problems encountered by young scientific workers? Don't they seem to want too much?

[Kubik] The academy is entrusted with directing the education of young scientific workers. The regulations which pertain to scientific education are a bit old today, they were established roughly 20 years ago. Although they have been made more precise since then, their substance remains the same. That is why we constantly witness the repetition of examinations, even in nonspecialized subjects, as was mentioned by Comrade Marec. Questions of scientific education were dealt with by the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences recently at two sessions. However, we must be aware that not all advanced school students are trained for scientific work. At the advanced schools, the predominant majority of people depart into practical activities after graduation.

It is really necessary to seek out talents for scientific work from the beginning of the person's studies. The training of a scientific worker should terminate at age 27 or 28. Unfortunately, we have introduced such a system that we pass from one type of training to another and a person ends his scientific training at age 60. We have 60-year-old doctors of science and they have worked virtually their entire life on improving themselves. They were constantly forced to present proof of their education and their concrete work was shunted aside.

We do not have a few talented people in this country. It is possible that research institutes do not know of them and that they do not reach these institutes. The seeking out and recruiting of talented students is not possible without the interconnection of advanced school departments and our institutes. However, this cooperation must be close and informal. And how do the graduates make their decisions? Predominantly on the basis of material conditions which their future employer can offer them. I do not mean to say by this that all enterprises offer and assign quarters or high salaries. But economic organizations have substantially greater opportunities in this regard than do we. As a result, a graduate will even go to a work site which differs from the one he would desire. And over 2 or 3 years, the talented individual is thus lost for scientific work.

[RUDE PRAVO] As the changes in the economic mechanism progress, there is discussion even of self-financing for basic research. How do you evaluate these trends?

[Kubik] Basic research cannot be subordinated to cost accounting (khozraschet). The tasks which have been included in the plan of basic research are not only on the minds of the academy; they must continue to be paid for from the state budget. Secondly, it is important for these resources to be managed as best as possible. Tasks in decisive areas should be solved by qualified people so that the outlined goals could be achieved within the appropriate time frames. However, the practice of turning over financial resources [to the state budget] obtained by institutes as a result of economic contracts which the institute concludes with producing organizations, should change. These resources should, perhaps, not be completely turned over to the budget, but a portion of them should be used, for example, for the expansion of the experimental base of the institute, for its overall equipment, and as a stimulus for continued cooperation with practical enterprises.

If, in view of the current interest in the results of work at the institute, both at home and abroad, we were to say to ourselves that we will change over to self-financing, we estimate that we would be out of trouble for say 5 to 7 years. But if we do not continue to work on theory, then self-financing will also spell our demise. Because, if I cease to work on theory, I will have nothing to offer for practical purposes. To place some institutes into the same situation as state enterprises, where the main worry



is to earn money, would mean to slow down basic research, even in those disciplines which are of immeasurable importance to the future development of the national economy.

[Zadrazil] For example, in the United States, the proposed directions of basic research are financed by the federal budget. The actual realization of results, connected with self-financing, is transferred to small commercial companies delving in applied research and connected with production organizations, into which a certain portion of the capacities used by basic research is channeled.

Even those institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences which have hitherto cooperated with practice to the maximum extent so that they earn relatively high sums for the state treasury, for example, the Institute of Macromolecular Chemistry, the Institute of Organic Chemistry and Biochemistry, or the Microbiology Institute, would soon exhaust their own theoretical reserves if predominant emphasis was placed on their money-earning activities. And this would mean that there would be no point of departure for the formation of additional offerings for the production sphere.

[RUDE PRAVO] Are there sufficient resources to purchase instrumentation and equipment or not?

[Zadrazil] We do not have sufficient opportunities to decide, for example, on the method of utilizing financial resources which are made available to us. We are dependent on the decisions of foreign trade enterprises as to how soon and where we shall be able to purchase some instruments, installations, chemicals, etc., a situation which does not reflect the speed of development in science or the requirements of scientific development.

[Kubik] One of the problems is the inadequate functioning of the import of instrumentation equipment. That is why planning must be accomplished with a great deal of lead time. Additional difficulties are presented by the actual purchase. Sometimes, we must be satisfied with instruments which are not exactly the best. We know that foreign trade enterprises also have their rules and possibilities for concluding trade contracts; however, we are the ones who work with the instruments, we are the ones who are required to hand over results, the attainment of which was made conditional by us upon the timely purchase of equipment having the necessary parameters.

[Gardavsky] There is much talk of large instruments with huge requirements for foreign exchange, but such a most elemental aid or tool for every scientist is the perfect knowledge of specialized literature. We all know the types of financial difficulties we encounter in purchasing foreign literature, including Soviet literature. And we lack sufficient information regarding what types of publications are subscribed to in which libraries. We

would need an information system such as is current in a number of developed countries. And I am not even speaking of the possibility of participating in scientific activities abroad.

[RUDE PRAVO] Where do the problems lie?

[Gardavsky] The planning method involved in trips abroad is a complex ritual. A year before the event we fill out the proposal forms, then we are assigned financial limits. Then, suddenly, "outside of the program" we find out, for example, that an interesting conference is taking place in Vienna to which it would be well to dispatch an employee. Before we find out all the information necessary, the conference has ended. So that we then again make efforts to at least obtain the published material from the conference. We frequently solve the situation by sending papers to the conference even if we do not take a physical part in it. Here and there it happens that our work is published and we can introduce Czechoslovak science in the international forum at least through this method.

[Zadrazil] Of course, if the organizers find out that the conference fees have not been paid, then they will refrain from publishing anything.

[Kubik] In the academy, we have a certain volume of resources for foreign travel. What is fundamental is how efficiently we use these resources and whether we utilize them in productive directions, whether the people who travel are knowledgeable and bring back new findings.

In the academy, we have the prerequisites for foreign exchange coverage for next year and for the tasks which are the topics of discussion. We must know what is going on in the world. After all, in the productive disciplines, such as, for example, superconductivity and other so-called strategic directions, only that which is commonly known is published. Consequently, we must send our specialists to scientific meetings abroad. Such activities are frequently convened on short notice so that the requirement to be functional is appropriate. Of course, we must regulate the interest because sometimes some people request travel because their colleagues have already been abroad several times and they themselves not even once. Under this type of pressure, institutes make it possible for people to travel whose specializations do not fall within the productive directions of the work performed by the institute.

[RUDE PRAVO] However, without closer and personal contacts it will not be possible to intensify international cooperation. What are your opinions with regard to the joint approach made by the CEMA countries in this regard?

[Gardavsky] If I had to evaluate this form of cooperation over the past 25 years, I think that it was essentially an extensive form of cooperation which only occasionally led to significant concrete outputs.

[Kubik] In international cooperation, we speak today of direct contacts. In our case, they consist of the fact that both sides share in the solution of a certain problem. However, this also implies the possibility for operational contact in the event of need. Here, the old and inflexible approaches must be eliminated. And difficulties involving accommodation as well. For example, we cannot receive our partners from the Moscow Kurchatov Institute a day or 2 after we are told that they will come. We are unable to hunt up accommodations so quickly even at a price of Kcs 800 at the Hotel Intercontinental. We would have to have an acquaintance even there who, rather than giving us the answer "booked up," would assure us the availability of one or two beds. Thirty years of practice in international cooperation, persistent stereotypes, and accustomed formalities will not change from one day to the next.

[RUDE PRAVO] In addition to rejecting self-financing for basic research, do you also reject the possibility of developing entrepreneurial activity involving brainwork?

[Kubik] Some 3 to 4 years ago, an experiment was conducted involving some institutes which have relatively well-developed realizational activities. There was even an agreement on certain criteria according to which a portion of the resources were retained by the appropriate institute either to provide material incentives for employees or to purchase additional equipment. Currently, on the basis of these experiences, we at the academy have prepared a proposal for the federal government indicating how the entrepreneurial actions of our institutes can be more developed through economic instruments.

[Bardos] However, a socially justified order must exist so that we may react to it. For the time being, this is not in place or is unsatisfactory.

[Marec] The fact that the social order is not satisfactory is, I believe, caused by the fact that, in practice, there are no people appropriately qualified to take over highly theoretical findings provided by basic research. And applied research—that link between research and practice—is not functioning adequately.

[Kubik] To the extent to which results develop in basic research which cannot be utilized in our country, they should be converted to money, either through the form of patents or licenses abroad on an accelerated basis.

However, in selling the results of brainwork abroad we lack the necessary speed. After all, for example, the request for proposed procedure in our country, in which appropriate industries express themselves with respect to the possibility of realization, takes a year or longer. And we lose time that way. Moreover, we must consider carefully to whom we should sell and for how much.

After all, we also do not obtain something for nothing. This is also an economic effect brought about by basic research which we have, for the present, not pursued a great deal.

[Bardos] In 1979, we patented an invention at the academy which the Japanese began to utilize with commercial success beginning in 1983. Our inventors encountered complications involving patent regulations abroad, economies were being implemented, there were no funds for foreign patent coverage. We should not economize everywhere. This is, again, a question of approach toward the results of brainwork in general. Key specialists who say: Yes, this patent is worthwhile, it should go abroad, are in a position to evaluate the importance of brainwork. Yet, we frequently even treat some good things administratively alike by stating that we lack the resources for patent coverage.

[RUDE PRAVO] in the proposal covering the prognosis of development and application of science in Czechoslovakia through the year 2010, it is stated that in some areas we are 10 to 15 years behind and that we wish to make up this time. Is this realistic?

[Kubic] We can keep pace with world science only in areas where we have a decent base in research and where the necessary conditions have been created. We must concentrate on these directions, we must concentrate our forces in these areas. In principle, the priority directions outlined in the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000 provide our orientation. It would not be sensible to aim our attention at problems whose solutions would then not find any reflection in industry anyway, be it from the standpoint of the demanding nature of their investments, or the inadequate parts base, or the lack of preparedness of production capacities.

## HUNGARY

### **'Traditional Communist' Trade Union Leader Proposes Elimination of Worker Guard**

25000038e Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian  
27 Sep 88 p 5

[Interview with Sandor Borbely, commander, Worker Guard: "Should the Worker Guard Be Disbanded? The National Commander Responds"; date and place not given]

[Text] Yesterday's radio program AFTERNOON CHRONICLE reported on the meeting of the central leadership presidium of the Builders Trade Union. In addition to discussing matters pertaining to the industry and the internal affairs of the union, the meeting also dealt with Hungary's economic concerns. It was recommended in the course of debate that the Worker Guard be disbanded in order to reduce state expenditures.

Prompted by this report we called Worker Guard commander Sandor Borbely to learn his views concerning the proposal.

[Answer] We too heard it on the radio, and I must say that we are outraged. We are outraged mainly because the proposal was advanced by that union's leadership which has one of the deepest communist legacy. Perhaps you are unaware of this: the Worker Guard has some 8,000 construction industry workers as members. The Worker Guard is a voluntary organization. Necessity brought it into existence. It is conceivable that it will cease to exist when there no longer is a need. Most certainly, however, it will not be disbanded as a result of the ideas—in my judgment hastily conceived ideas—advanced by the leaders of one or two trade unions.

[Question] Suppose the budget would not provide for the Worker Guard. Would this really represent a substantial reduction of expenses?

[Answer] Our organization's financial situation is well known. It was dealt with by the press several times—I do not want to repeat all that was said before, nevertheless I am compelled to provide you with three figures. The total assets of the Worker Guard increased by 5 billion forints over a five year period. Of that amount only 1 billion forints represent state subsidies, the rest was accumulated by virtue of our own efforts. This year we are receiving 870 million forints in state subsidies. I guess I need not tell you: our expenses greatly exceed that figure, and the difference will be made up by us.

[Question] Did you get in touch with the Builders Trade Union following the radio newscast?

[Answer] Yes, I did. I wanted to talk to the secretary general but I did not succeed as of 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Since noon, the national command received about a hundred phone calls regarding this matter. For this reason we wrote to the leadership of the trade union, expressing our view of their suggestion.

### **Tax Burden Significantly Higher for Private Sector**

25000038f Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian  
13 Oct 88 p 6

[Interview with Peter Simsa, president, National Association of Entrepreneurs [VOSZ]: "Entrepreneurs and Taxes: A Reduction in Scope?"]

[Text] Those representing the interests of entrepreneurs talk more and more about a reduced scope, and about the fact that because of various excises and taxes they are unable to conduct their activities efficiently. This is taking place at a time when entrepreneurs are playing an ever increasing role in the long range plans of the government. We asked VOSZ president Peter Simsa how he viewed the future.

[Answer] Compared to 1987 our [tax] burdens have increased significantly—by 20-40 percent. These burdens will further increase in 1989. We estimate the expected increase to be approximately 15-20 percent. This increases the excise we are subject to by such degree that it endangers simple reproduction. In other words, these excises may mean that we cannot even ensure continued production at the present level. In our view this situation cannot be maintained at a time when the government relies to a significant extent upon the economic invigorating role of small enterprises.

[Question] The economic difficulties cannot avoid enterprises ...

[Answer] This is true, but in this way one cannot accomplish development. There will be no development if there are no incentives. The government recognizes already that the excise state enterprises are subject to is high, and consequently the excise entrepreneurs are subject to is also high. Except for the fact that while relative to a state firm the budget absorbs, makes up the loss, an enterprise goes out of business if it experiences loss. Excises affect us directly and represent gut issues. If, for example a large enterprise is unable to pay wages, it receives unlimited credit from the bank. If an entrepreneur is in the same situation the workers will not receive wages, even for two or three months.

[Question] By what ratio do small enterprises discontinue their activities?

[Answer] The rate is approximately 20 percent. But this happens only because the entrepreneur has no alternative at the present time, when unemployment threatens anyway.

[Question] What endeavors does VOSZ pursue to improve the entrepreneurs' situation?

[Answer] I believe that we have worked and that we continue to work quite hard. Unfortunately, our greatest problem is that our efforts are not proportionate with the results. A large part of our time is spent on defending against action that would produce a situation that is worse than what exists. The membership shows little appreciation for this kind of work. Quite naturally, they would like to see improvements. Alleviations we succeeded in achieving did not exceed the inflation rate. Thus these alleviations appear as if they did not exist. In addition, it is conceivable that new dues and fees will be introduced—there is talk about new restructuring dues—and these would only serve to increase our burden. I view new wage regulations the same way: no regulation at all is needed in places where the identity of the owner can be directly determined. Just imagine a situation in which you would ask someone to iron your shirt, and the amount of money you pay for this service would be prescribed centrally.



[Question] Not too long ago you said that "Actions aiming for increased efficiency dissolve within the economy as a whole and do not produce results." Considering your statement, would you say that there is no need for such measures?

[Answer] Absolutely, there is a need for such measures, except in a different form. Small, cautious steps do not change the economic structure. It would be inappropriate if such measures affect only part of the economy. Interest in efficient management should be introduced in a radical fashion, throughout the country, in regards to every facet of the economy, at the same time. To accomplish this, however, some significant changes would be needed.

**Lawyers Call for New Cooperative Law To Include Ownership Rights**

25000038d Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
17 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed article based on an MTI report: "There Is a Need for a New Law Governing Cooperatives"]

[Text] There is a need for a new law governing cooperatives. This was the final conclusion of the 4th national conference of lawyers serving cooperatives which ended last Sunday in Siofok. The three day conference concluded that the fact that corporate law grants more favorable conditions to enterprises than what cooperatives must operate under cannot be reconciled with the criteria of neutrality in competition.

present, cooperative members are burdened with a right to work responsibility. Shares received by members are based on this principle, and it would be more appropriate to call these shares "wages." In the opinion of many, in lieu of the responsibility for right to work, ownership responsibility should be enforced, together with the related liberties and dividends owners are entitled to.

**MSZMP Archives Opened To Assist Researchers**

25000038a Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
17 Oct 88 p 5

[Unattributed article based on an MTI report: "Research Work Became Easier in the Party Archives—Less Classified Material"]

[Text] The declassification of heretofore classified materials made research work and the development of resources significantly easier in the archives of the MSZMP Institute on Party History. Documents relating to the postliberation coalition era became fully accessible. The classification of documents pertaining to the 1950's became less stringent, and party documents of the post-1956 era may also be researched. Access to source materials pertaining to the period between the two world wars was also made easier.

Regarding the latter period, however, party materials are incomplete. Several documents got lost or were destroyed. A significant part of the existing documents are copies of originals transferred from Moscow's Comintern archives. Documents pertaining to the period between the two world wars are incomplete also because much of the correspondence and notes of the illegal party cell functioning in Hungary was written with invisible ink.

Far more material is available to historians concerning the Social Democratic Party. This is due in part to the fact that because of the legitimate functioning of the Social Democratic Party more source material, more documents survived, and in part because numerous foreign archives preserved documents related to the Hungarian social democratic movement.

In researching the workers movement documentation between the two world wars it was difficult to obtain access in regards to materials dealing with persons, internal factions and party struggles. At present these documents may be researched without restriction.

Source material pertaining to the period 1945-48 is fully available to historians, including documents and minutes of conferences held by the Independent Smallholders Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party as well as the National Peasant Party.

The "classified" label was also removed from some documents relating to the 1948-56 period. Materials labeled "strictly confidential" will be released to historians presenting letters of authorization personally naming the historian. Accordingly, except for records generated by people's court actions and materials pertaining to conceptual trials, all of which are preserved elsewhere, all materials pertaining to the period beginning with liberation and ending in 1956 maybe researched freely in the archives.

Not counting pamphlets, proclamations and workers council releases the institute holds hardly any documents relating to 1956. They are collecting reminiscences regarding the 1956 events to fill this gap, documents which then may be used for purposes of historical research.

**KISZ Open Letter Warns of Strained Tempers at Universities**

25000038b Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET  
in Hungarian 17 Oct 88 p 3

[Text] The KISZ stratum conference on higher education is called upon to convene on 11-12 November. In preparing for the conference the KISZ CC Council of Universities and Academies met last Saturday. The most important event of the meeting was the acceptance of an open letter addressed to the Council of Ministers. The document, presented in its entirety below, had the unanimous support of the stratum council.



**"Respected Council of Ministers!"**

"The events of the past months once again proved that the cabinet enjoys public confidence only as long as its words, its announced programs are supported by deeds and by consistent governmental work. All this applies also to higher education reform which has been promised by party and state leaders ever since 1981.

"In June 1988 the Council of Ministers once again recognized that a radical reform of higher education represents a priority issue; in 1987 central subsidies for higher education amounted to 8 billion forints. Although universities and academies are not producers of goods, they produced an additional 3.5 billion forints which enabled at least the limited functioning of these institutions. Compared to these figures, the 150 million forints earmarked in 1988 for the support of priority projects in higher education—an amount designated as a surplus resource, appears as miserably low. Hungarian higher education finds itself in an impossible situation because developmental projects failed to materialize for many long years. By now the elementary conditions for teaching are absent in many places, several institutions are at the brink of financial collapse and at the threshold of closing down in the winter due to the shortage of coal. The minister of culture and education announced that next year the number of students to be admitted will be increased by 50 percent. We welcome this increase, nevertheless wonder: where will the students have a place to sit down, who and under what circumstances will teach those students, and where will the newly accepted students reside? Securing financial resources for even the most austere conditions requires rather substantial amounts of money. These funds cannot be squeezed out of the higher education budget through further rationalization. They may be obtained only through the reduction of subsidies now provided to production units which operate with a loss, and through the rationalization of major investments. The further shrinkage and decline of higher education is not permissible lest we wish to squander the still existing chance to lift up and to make Hungary competitive. Our demand for higher education reform transcends our personal concerns: it is in the common, long-range interest of every social stratum, one which provides foundations for the future. "

Students despair at institutions of higher education. In the present situation those involved in higher education struggle not only with concerns for their own livelihood. They also regard the deteriorating conditions as the depreciation of the work of the intelligentsia. Instead of establishing modern conditions for teaching, all they hear are empty slogans concerning the importance of knowledge and teaching. They hold the cultural department of government responsible, but in this regard they are only partly correct. Those who direct higher education are responsible for not realizing consistently even those reform measures which do not require financial resources. Groundless experimentation discredited the

cause of reform, attempts at reform which were not funded vanquished necessarily in the face of local conservative resistance. It would have been the duty of leaders who formulate economic policy and of government to provide for the financing of reform, and therefore they are responsible for the policy which necessarily doomed to failure reform at universities and academies.

"There are increasing tensions within higher education. These are manifested by the increasing number of restless actions. If in the course of preparing the 1989 state budget there fails to occur a favorable change (i.e. if the cabinet fails to provide the indispensable additional resources needed for high priority development projects), higher education will become the base for the political destabilization of Hungary. This policy serves to unite under a common platform those who retard achievements, the mediocre and others who manifest outstanding achievement. Thus the government will lose precisely that stratum which could provide the fundamental basis, the leading force for reform.

"Our support of policies which prompt the decline of higher education would constitute the denial of all the past activities of the Council of Universities and Academies. We agree with those, and we will support those who strive for comprehensive restructuring also within higher education.

"Since June there once again exists a valid governmental program based on the achievement principle for the selective development of higher education. We call on the cabinet: enforce the earlier decision! To do so, we are prepared to lend our full support.

**"KISZ CC Council of Universities and Academies"**

## POLAND

**POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup**  
26000096b Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 41, 8 Oct 88 p 2

[Excerpts]

### National News

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, whom the Sejm has assigned the task of forming a government, held meetings and talks for this purpose. He met with the leaders of the ZSL, SD, OPZZ, and the National Union of Farmers, Circles, and Agricultural Organizations. Among the participants in the talks were Roman Malinowski, president of the ZSL Main Committee, Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the SD Central Committee, Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ, and Norbert Aleksiewicz and Zdzislaw Zambrzycki, leaders of the farmers' organizations. The Premier met with Prof Wladyslaw Findeisen, chairman of the Primate's Social Council.

Marian Orzechowski, who, as a member of the party leadership, is responsible for ideology and training, pointed to three central doctrinal problems for socialist renewal around which discussion should develop prior to the Third All-Polish Theoretical and Ideological Conference in a speech at the opening of the new party training year: "the essence, class content and boundaries of Polish socialist pluralism in the context of the development of ideas and national reconciliation; the types and forms of property, and the management methods in a socialist state and the efficiency of the economy and social justice; the party in the reforming economy and the state, functions, methods, and mechanisms determining the effectiveness of leadership in the new conditions of operation."

The center of Krakow, beginning 1 October 1988, became a specially protected zone. All vehicles (other than those necessary to the operation of retail sales, services, and offices) will be removed from the market square and the streets enclosed by the Planty.

Higher stipends for students in the new academic year: the basis for their calculation was raised from 14,000 to 23,000 zloty. (Students, whose family income does not exceed 23,000 zloty monthly per family member will receive stipends.)

The railway workers' weekly SYGNALY reports that in the first months of 1988 the Polish State Railways had to pay its contract partners 1.1 billion zloty in damages, 195 million more than during the same period in 1987. The losses of the railways from theft of shipments was 196 million zloty, damage to goods, 256 million zloty, shortage of loads, 227 zloty, late arrivals, 430 million zloty. The value of goods which were stolen from the railways increased by 30 percent; thieves look for television sets, tape recorders, video tapes, tape recorders, washers, cloth, clothing; they pilfer from cars, tractors, and machinery in transport.

The Chamber of Commerce of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship has begun operation. It includes 34 enterprises in the voivodship. The Chamber is to serve the interests of the enterprises and help solve the central problems of the region.

Młoda Polska, a new student organization has been registered in Poznan. Students of all Poznan higher institutions can become members of it, and its goal is to develop the personalities of the academic youth based on the teachings of the Catholic Church. In Szczecin, an all-Polish association called the Maritime Forum, which organizes people interested in maritime commerce, has been registered. In the Wroclaw Voivodship Office, the Friends of Lvov Society, which is to form clubs throughout the country, has been registered.

### On the Left

In an interview with I. Toome, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia for the weekly OGONEK: "In 1945, 97 percent of the population in the republic was Estonian; now about 60 percent is. . . . In the cities of Kohtla-Jarve, Narva, and Sillamae, Russian-language speakers predominate. That is the industrial center of Estonia. In Tallin, Estonians make up only 50 percent of the residents. All this leads, not to internationalism, but at times to national alienation; tension has arisen among the population because the Estonians do not feel at home." In any case Toome regards calls for relocating ethnic groups as "provocations and drivel. Who benefits from playing on ethnic feelings? Who benefits from heating the pot of social dissatisfaction. We have convinced the editors in chief that they are playing with fire. . . ."

"A complete withdrawal of forces (Soviet ones from Hungary) cannot be a realistic political goal in the near future, although a partial withdrawal is possible, if the general European processes and domestic relationships within both countries develop favorably. . . . Our military is strong enough to defend the borders of the country. However, the guarantee of the security of our air space is the united air defense system of the Warsaw Pact, allied cooperation with the Soviet air force. We can replace it only at huge material costs. In no case would it be beneficial to us, if NATO introduced new strategic military equipment," said C. Tabajdi, the deputy head of the International Section of the MSZMP Central Committee, in MAGYAR HIRLAP.

### Opinions

*Marek Kotanski:*

[Question] Is it true that you are considering forming an independent, national radio and television service?

[Answer] Yes. But I am not only thinking. I have already held several serious conversations at high and very high levels. My project has met with interest, and I am counting on it taking on real shape in a few months.

[Question] From whom are the radio and television of Marek Kotanski to be independent.

[Answer] But they will not be mine! I only took the initiative; the hosts and authors of the program will be young people, their various associations and informal groups. Obviously Monar, too. But I understand independence as unrestrained independence in voicing and presenting views and opinions, including those now circulating in the second circulation. I want the young people to express themselves fully on everything that is bothering them, for our service to be a regular Hyde Park.

(Interviewed by W. Styrzula, KURIER LUBELSKI 20 September 1988)

*Ryszard Puchacz, master of the Miscellaneous Crafts Guild in Zagan:*

[Answer] There could be less bureaucracy in the guild, if the regulations are changed. I think, for example, that we unnecessarily conduct distribution of food ration cards, that reporting requirements could be reduced, too. (Why does every letter to the Social Insurance Agency have to be evaluated by us?) Is our reporting to the Central Office of Statistics and to the Crafts Chamber insufficient. There is no lack of absurdities. Do you know that every craftsman who wants to train apprentices must attend a yearlong pedagogical course?! In my opinion that is merely pretending. As a result there is no one interested in training apprentices. Because for teaching an apprentice the owner of a shop receives . . . 1,000 zloty monthly. Another absurd regulation: apprentices can not be trained at night. I ask: how is one to teach the occupation of baker?

(Interviewed by Andrzej Brachmanski, GAZETA LUBUSKA 9 September 1988)

*Tadeusz Myslik, Sejm deputy and deputy chairman of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, activist of the PRON National Council:*

[Myslik] Prof Gertych recently told me during a conversation after an exchange of opinions: "Your views do not diverge from those declared by PRON." I nodded agreement and asked: "But you, by agreeing to participate in the Consultative Council, also approved the constitution." He replied: "Yes, obviously. Including the final chapter."

"My reflexes lapsed, for I asked: "And what is in it?" The professor replied: "It says how to change it."

[Question] The opposition in Poland is unusually varied. The Solidarity of Walesa is different from that of Frasiński or Bujak. Then there is the Confederation for an Independent Poland and the Polish Socialist Party and the intellectual opposition. Who will sit at the table on the side of such a varied opposition?

[Myslik] We shall see. The spokesman for the SD Central Committee presented an interesting proposal. In his opinion the future candidates for an anticrisis pact are observing how the party treats its current allies and are drawing conclusions from this treatment. If we now observe reserve in the party towards the ZSL, the SD, Catholic and Christian participants in the coalition, then what can the opposition expect? How the current allies are treated is a lesson for future ones.

(In a report from a meeting of the Zdanie Discussion Club in Bystrzyca following GAZETA ROBOTNICZA 17-18 September 1988)

*Jerzy Jedlicki:*

"A government that does not take from the people but gives, does not have to ask its representatives about their opinion of priorities for the public good. The government itself is the fully empowered interpreter and guardian of this good. The permission of the Sejm may perhaps be needed, but the Sejm does not distribute the monies of its electors; it at most can audit the fiscal accounting. . . .

"Citizens of the state do not know exactly how much the state costs. They do not know how much education costs, how much health costs, how much justice costs, and which industries are working for this purpose, and which ones are subsidized. They do not know, and they are little interested, for even if they knew, that knowledge would be useless to them. The monies are not theirs, and they have no influence on the expenditures, although the expenditures influence their fates and lives. . . . Truly, the public domain has never been so distant and foreign. And this will not be changed by removing the veil or by openness of government work. It will not change until the state maintains its people, instead of the people maintaining their state."

(From an editorial discussion in RES PUBLIKA, May 1988)

*Eugeniusz Kochan, chairman of the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Sociocultural Society in Poland:*

[Answer] The Ukrainian population does not live in one area or region, but is dispersed literally all over Poland. Further, there is a shortage of teachers, because other than the Department of Ukrainian Philology at Warsaw University there are no institutions training teachers in this area. There are great difficulties with textbooks, especially the publication of a basic reader in Ukrainian, the very basis of teaching. There is also a shortage of dictionaries, atlases, maps and other teaching aids. And a self-teaching text for Ukrainian which would be available for everyone so far is only a dream. Parents and teachers constantly call for these aids. In spite of these difficulties, we have received applications from 10 more localities requesting instruction in Ukrainian for children.

(Interviewed by Stefan Migus, DZIENNIK POJEZIERZA 24-26 September 1988)

*Dr Ryszard Bugaj, economist:*

"A number of people insist that there is a connection between the credibility of government policies and trade union pluralism. I am convinced that this connection actually exists, primarily for workers. The authorities have something to offer the intellectuals in the form of associations and in the form of freer operation of public opinion, political clubs, changes in the Sejm election law



and others. There is a problem, however, about which institutional measures are available for workers, for those, who did not want to join the new unions?"

(From a discussion at the editorial offices of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 25 September 1988)

The opinions and views cited in this section do not always agree with those of the editors.

**Krol Outlines Minimum Conditions for Constructive Reform**

26000061 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY  
in Polish No 38, 18 Sep 88 p 1

[Article by Marcin Krol: "The Political Minimum"]

[Text] Since we are using the concept of a social minimum, then we can, likewise, speak about a political minimum, whose fulfillment will finally, in my opinion, have the possibility of producing a substantial change for the better. A political change, because in Poland, now, at the beginning of September 1988 we must deal not just with the economic crisis but also with a political crisis. Strikes, whatever one may think of them, are a political phenomena, even though they are only the iceberg tip of society's dissatisfaction. To solve the political crisis which is continuing in this form since the referendum, there must be certain concrete and radical changes, and on a rather general plane there must be a return of the phenomenon of politics into its commensurably normal place in public life.

The concept and appearance of politics for years had been handled from a totalitarian viewpoint. Therefore, conjecturally political positions were revealed, often by force; protest letters, church meetings, even prose and poetry were considered as political acts. But the ongoing political game was carefully not publicized, and this, among other factors, led to the dramatic breakthroughs in 1956, 1968, 1970, 1980, because the changes at the pinnacle of power could only take place as a result of the more or less blind social protest.

For some time now the word "opposition" has been allowed to come into use. We know that this is not opposition in the meaning that is given to the word in western nations, but could such a situation continue to exist if the norms of the political game were to return? I am convinced that the opposition must become opposition in the normal meaning of the word, which means that it must have the right to organized participation in government. Without this the sphere of political activity will not appear, and the crisis will not be overcome.

At the outset I will answer the typical reservations. We live in a known geopolitical situation and within an existing system of alliances. Agreed. We live. But does this mean that in accepting these limitations we must accept all freely drawn consequences based upon them? No. The only thing we must accept are the limitations;

the interpretation of the resulting consequences can vary. For example what are the consequences for economic life; for the matter of labor unions; for the public activities of the unions and associations; for election regulations; for the legal system? In my opinion all this has many different interpretations and no one has the exclusive right to being correct. This means that no one can have this right if we want to return the necessary functions to politics in Poland. In other words: we know that the ruling party has and should retain in its hands the decisions on the matters directly connected to the geopolitical realities and alliances. However, the remainder should be fair game in politics among many political forces, for after all the opposition differs on many of the issues.

Some issues, even though they are extremely important, such as changes in the legal system, ecology, the system of social care, must be solved slowly. Change, for example, in the regulations governing associations, as necessary as it is, will not produce a flowering in public life over the course of a week or a month. Today we must think in terms of a month or two, not in the terms of a year or two. It is not good, but this is a situation where long range thinking must take a back seat. Which issues then belong to the political minimum?

I wish to enumerate three issues which are so tightly bound together that they must be undertaken together and solved at the same time. The solution of just one will not, in my opinion, lead to a solution of the political crisis.

The state of social attitudes is a fact, as we all know, which cannot be ignored. Because of this there must be a solution on the issue of union pluralism, and this includes "Solidarnosc." I do not know what the solution will be like and I do not wish to mull over the details, but radical changes in the economy (we are no longer talking about reform) will not be accomplished without patience from the workers, and this cannot be had without union pluralism, without such labor unions which can provide the ruling group with some breathing space in spite of a lowered living standard. This is the first issue.

The second issue demands a change in the system which is based on the complete depoliticization of the entire economic sphere. One formula, in my opinion, which can create some hope in our nearly hopeless situation calls for turning over full economic control to a group of several professionals, free market advocates, which would include members of the ruling party, but the qualified people must hold sway by right of their economic views and the readiness to undertake radical decisions, and through public support. The economy, in other words, must, as far as possible, be freed from political limitations, while the people who receive total control must have an enormous freedom of action—changing regulations, firing directors, etc. They should have all the economic ministry posts. This should be a



Committee for Economic Rescue with colossal powers which would be limited only by the one function of the ruling party, the function as guarantor of the geopolitical realities and alliances.

The third issue is the radical speeding up in the process of political democratization. This is the problem of associations and unions, which includes youth groups, and this also includes the problem of elections to the Sejm and other bodies (local self-rule groups). Again, one must accept some limitations, so that the ruling party may not lose control, but I think that it can risk yielding 45 percent of the Sejm seats and allow for full freedom in elections at the lower levels. This is not a problem which can be solved immediately, but we must definitely aim for these solutions. But, immediately, there must be a radical expansion of access to the mass media by the differentiated opposition groups. Modern political life is based, as we know, on influencing public opinion and limiting opposition in this area, or forcing it onto church grounds, which makes public opinion into a brittle partner in political life. Some progress has been made in this area, but far too slowly and far too little.

The opposition as a partner; this only seems a paradox. In all wise nations the opposition is a partner in government. Only in countries with an incredibly low political culture does the opposition try to eliminate those in power and vice versa. These three issues which I have mentioned depend on a far reaching partnership and a negotiated understanding between all political forces which exist in Poland. But the interaction between these three issues is incredibly tight. There must be pluralistic labor unions which would guarantee its actions to the Committee for Economic Rescue. There must be such a committee and political groups must gradually come into existence and crystalize, and these, under better conditions will conduct partnership politics in Poland.

The future of Poland depends on the simultaneous solution of these three issues. I will not hesitate to say, that if they are not resolved immediately, then the future, in my opinion, will bring tragedy. As to the specifics of the matter, these must be resolved as the subject of discussion and negotiation, but the discussions and negotiations cannot take many long months. Decisions must be made and put into effect over the span of the next two or three months. The time for gradual steps is gone. Much time has been wasted but this is not the season for grudges and name calling. If the negotiations lead to a decision, then much can be recovered and this is the way they must be approached. It is necessary to have good will and the conviction that this can come off. Recent events fill one with a guarded optimism, but I must say once again, that only those talks will count, which in the opinion of all those involved, will lead to immediate practical conclusions.

I am not an overconfident optimist, the lesson of the past is definitely discouraging and this is why I am forcefully proposing not so much that we forget about it, but to put

it aside for the period of two or three months. Only the absence of even partial, but decisive and definite results, will be a sign, I am convinced, that this has been a waste of words.

And then will we endure, will Polish workers, Polish farmers, Poland itself endure? I have doubts. This is why I consider the fulfillment of this political minimum essential.

#### **Youth Oppositionist on Dated Solidarity Visions, Recent Favorable Trends**

*26000050 Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish  
No 7/8, Jul-Aug 88 pp 10-11*

[Interview with Aleksander Hall, independent journalist, by Jerzy Szczesny]

[Text]

[Question] You were one of the first opposition activists who left the underground in January 1984 and continued their journalistic activity above ground. This was a difficult and painful period for each of the sides in the Polish drama. How did you reach such a decision?

[Answer] Out of a sense of autonomy. This was my autonomous decision just as the decision to begin underground activity following 13 December was autonomous whereby both of these decisions do not challenge each other and were the result of my assessment of the situation. My assessment and that of the ideological community to which I am connected.

[Question] What sort of community?

[Answer] The community of the Polish Youth Movement [RMP] which was created during the second half of the last decade. Toward the end of the 1970's, we formulated our program's opposition to the reality of that period and we presented a certain set of values which we recognized as important. Thus, the recognition of a personalistic vision of man and the conviction that an individual develops in freely emerging communities. We attached particular importance to participation in the national community [wspolnota narodowa] which gives citizens specific rights and responsibilities that must be upheld by a sovereign state. We saw our mission in the propagation of the stand on civic activity, particularly among the young generation, and in presenting the true picture of Poland which was blurred by the then propaganda veneer as well as in revealing the truth about Polish tradition and history. Our ideological identity was, therefore, clear in August of 1980 not only because of the philosophical ties to the Church.

[Question] And today?

[Answer] It is the same currently, as well.

[Question] Thus, where is your community situated in the geography of Poland's political opposition?

[Answer] That is a very difficult question because recently this geography of opposition has been undergoing enormous changes whereas old sectors and places may be misleading. I believe that today, in June of 1988, one of the basic criteria for differentiating between public opinion and attitudes and the opposition is the assessment of the current political situation. The dividing line is running increasingly more clearly between those who claim that we are still dealing with a post-December situation—a situation on which martial law weighs heavily, and those who feel that today we have a fundamentally new situation. The consequences of this dividing line appear to be obvious. Those who feel that nothing has changed in the country since 13 December, continue to stand by the old objectives and methods of political activity. However, those who do perceive a significant evolution in the political situation including an evolution in the awareness of the authorities and society, are inclined to treat the new situation as a new challenge and react to it with new attitudes and initiatives.

[Question] Is this not a temporary trend caused by the strikes of April-May?

[Answer] No, because the awareness of new elements in the political situation occurred much earlier. My community issued a declaration as early as in the beginning of November of last year in which we clearly state that Poland is facing a challenge and has a chance. The challenge—the economic and civilizational collapse which we are experiencing, the widening of the gap between us and the developed countries of the world and the continent, and the anachronistic political system and shape of public life that block the emergence of genuine social activity. On the other hand, our chance is in the increasing conviction, which we feel is currently prevalent in, above all, our society but is also not unfamiliar to certain circles associated with the realm of government, that the continued maintaining of the current state of affairs dooms Poland to the role of an "ailing individual in Europe" and the fate of a Third World country. Our chance is in the existence of a rather widespread need for political and economic systems reforms.

[Question] Are such reforms possible in view of the prevailing social mood of discouragement and apathy?

[Answer] I feel that they are possible because despite a depressed mood and one of discouragement and apathy among Poles, there lies serious potential for idealism and the ability to make sacrifices.

[Question] But how can it be set free?

[Answer] An absolutely indispensable condition for this is to point out a concrete, realistic prospect of favorable changes. Hope is also needed. It in turn requires fundamental changes because Polish society has acquired a sufficient amount of experience, particularly during recent years, to be able to differentiate between actual changes and those that are only feigned, and concrete measures from only partial ones.

[Question] In advancing the banner of reform, the opposition, particularly the political opposition, is calling back the model of relations between the public and the authorities that existed between 1980 and 1981.

[Answer] That is not true. Not all of the opposition, which is currently characterized by a far-reaching pluralism. In any case, I represent the view that today the dichotomous separation of authorities and the opposition is becoming somewhat of an anachronism and no longer says much about the substance of Polish political reality. In some oppositional circles, the trend of activity aimed at legalization has appeared. The creation of the Industrial Society in Krakow, efforts to create an Economic Society in Warsaw, and the legalization of the at one time underground RES PUBLIKA [monthly journal]—something that we seem to forget—appear to initiate profound and lasting processes. A part of the opposition, in which I also include my community, feels that it is a mistake to relentlessly search for a vision of tomorrow in the model of public life and in the relations between society and the authorities which had been shaped during the time of the legal existence of "Solidarity." It would also be a mistake if the struggle for "Solidarity" were to be the only sensible initiative in which the aspiration of society toward sovereignty were to express itself.

[Question] A struggle for what would be sensible, then?

[Answer] The state of the country raises opposition to the new challenge. In my opinion, it [opposition] should stop looking for a model in the past. It cannot limit itself to organizing outside pressure on state structures and to exerting efforts for attaining planes on which a normal life for the nation could proceed and where its spiritual autonomy would be shaped alongside and in spite of the state. The state as it exists currently is a real, though very imperfect, form of Polish statehood. This should be kept in mind by the opposition which should take up a struggle for the state to become a truly effective tool for the implementation of the national interest of Poles. The time has come to finish saying what has to be said. Thus, the genesis of the current form of Polish statehood and the ideological plan which, to a great extent, shapes the mechanisms of its functioning, resulted in that the majority of the people could not fully identify themselves with the state while important social factions considered it foreign to them. The same reasons resulted in that those in power considered the state to be an instrument for imposing their ideology upon the public. Under these conditions and despite the unquestionable

evolution during the entire history of the PRL, the state did not fulfill its responsibilities to the nation properly. The current crisis is a clear example of this, whereas Stefan Kisielewski [columnist in Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] proposes that the word "crisis" be replaced with "result." And he is right. Thus, maintaining this model of a state and the relationship between the people and the authorities that has existed thus far threatens the nation with a historical defeat. However, the regaining of confidence by the people in the state is an evolutionary and gradual process. For political opposition to participate effectively in this process, it must be conscious of the goal of the civil state in which governing authority arises from broad social attitudes whereas the people are the sovereign of a state that creates the framework for the development of a pluralistic society. In addition, the opposition must have the awareness of the road that has to be travelled in order to achieve this goal.

[Question] Do you feel that the participation of the opposition in attaining the goal as represented by a civil state is essential?

[Answer] Essential, necessary and irreplaceable for this evolutionary road to be covered and the goal achieved. At the same time, this requires the fulfillment of, in my opinion, three conditions on the part of the opposition. First of all, the opposition must reject the temptation to treat values such as independence or democracy as utopia or slogans serving to mobilize the masses. Secondly, the opposition must have the possibility and the power to form in and of itself lucid ideologically-political orientations that have at their disposal programs which define current goals. This is a condition for many social forces and not only one, as is the case currently, to be able to take responsibility for the state in the future. Third, the opposition must give up the thought about a center of authority in categories of taking revenge. This is undignified and in addition, ineffective in the new situation in which treating matters by means of friction is a mistake.

[Question] What is the new character of the current situation based on?

[Answer] On the decline of the post-December era. The climate and rules of the political game in Poland have undergone very significant changes. Not to see this is to suffer from political blindness. After all, the opposition has secured a considerable range of tolerance for its activity, particularly constructive activity, and really, it is not of the utmost importance for the country whether this fact is recognized as the result of the opposition's determination or the common sense of the authorities. The range has increased unquestionably for overt activity and, even though underground structures still exist, their clandestine character is—let us admit frankly—by consensus and frequently, simply symbolic. Since 1984, we have travelled a vast road which may be expressed in the comparison of two images: the image from the

beginning of the Orwellian year when the leading activists of "Solidarity" and of the opposition of that time were locked up in jails accused of crimes against the state or were in hiding, and the image of today where these people are meeting officially with government officials, if only at the same embassy receptions. The rigors of censorship have been loosened considerably. Despite bureaucratic restraints, the field of activity for private and cooperative enterprises is expanding. Admittedly, the authorities are still afraid of the public, in my opinion, and do not have a uniform vision of state reform. However, in going through the crisis of ideological identity, they are aware of the increasingly less effective functioning of the methods used thus far in governing the nation. At the same time, the ruling camp is aware that the changes taking place in the USSR present it with a new situation and it [ruling camp] too is subject to the processes of internal integration [zroznicowanie]. The more enlightened members of the ruling camp are aware of the drama of the situation of economic collapse for the country and for the authorities themselves. I am also inclined to consider the shaping of a new economic awareness in broad social circles as an important new element of the situation.

[Question] Broad?

[Answer] Yes, despite what is thought here at home and abroad about Poles giving up. The new economic awareness is based on the dashed hopes of the public that esthetic formulas can bring about a solution to the Polish economic problems. In my opinion, the range of attitudes is expanding considerably in which the assuming of responsibility by an individual for his own economic existence or that of his family is manifesting itself. In addition to this, social energy has undergone a significant shift from a political sphere in favor of economic initiatives undertaken outside of the government sector.

[Question] This should have a bearing on a change in attitude toward the government.

[Answer] And it, undoubtedly, does have a bearing, although, not to a sufficient degree because of the still too small degree of economic initiative on the part of the public and also because changes in public attitude toward the state will occur more quickly as the state is given a public character. However, regardless of the speed of this process, one of the roles of the opposition, among others, should be the immediate initiation of the process of changes in social awareness toward the state because I consider the situation in which the public maintains an attitude of a "contractor" who only demands his rights without concurrently assuming responsibility—even if this should be for valid reasons—as unnatural and abnormal. In addition to this, this situation is incompatible with the historically shaped model of European civilization.

[Question] From that which you have said, it follows that the situation is not only new but also better?



[Answer] Not in all areas. It certainly is not better in the economy or in ecology—in a word, in the sphere that determines the material conditions of the life of our society. On the other hand, this is an incomparably more favorable situation for the carrying on of more daring political activity. In a paradoxical way, the seriousness of the country's economic position, which does not allow half measures and the traditional swearing at the crisis to suffice, creates important conditions for undertaking the reforms. Among the key and most important conditions is, first and foremost, the situation in the USSR whose change has exceeded the expectations of many and has placed the thesis on the nonreformability of the Soviet system under a question mark. The changes in the USSR increase not only the possibilities of the activity of independent forces but also the camp of authority gains a larger field of operation and does not find itself under outside pressure which sentences it [camp of authority] to incorporating Polish society by means of repression into a tight corset of the ideological state. In my opinion, the authorities could use this field of operation to a much greater degree than is the case currently. Without falling into megalomania, it is possible to state that for Western public opinion the situation in Poland remains an important test of political trends in the entire Eastern Bloc [censored material] [Law of 31 July 1981 on "The Control of Publications and Public Events," Article 2, Paragraph 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99 revised in 1983 in DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

[Question] Therefore, are possibilities opening up in the search for new political and economic solutions in Poland which also include a new model of relations between the authorities and the opposition?

[Answer] I believe that they are. At least, in theory. However, it would be advantageous for all the protagonists of the Polish political scene as well as for the country tormented by the crisis, if practice would quickly follow theory.

[Question] A certain practical concept which we are trying to promote in these columns is the anticrisis pact. What do you think of it?

[Answer] I have a skeptical attitude toward words or formulas which are to organize reality in and of themselves. The crux of the matter is not in words but in actions.

[Question] But, after all, "In the beginning was the Word," about which you know well as a Catholic and member of the Primate's Social Council.

[Answer] Granted. However, there have already been many words, formulas and declarations on the need for saving the country from collapse and little resulted from

this. Therefore, a real pact requires a climate of recognizing one's partners and should be a kind of emancipation of their right to organize themselves, to be organized partners.

[Question] And there is no such climate?

[Answer] I don't know. Recently the Gdansk Political Club named after Lech Badkowski was denied registration. In turn, a similar initiative was registered in Poznan. After all, what is of importance is a consistent climate. What could be the essence of such a pact? Not that a certain number of people with varying political outlooks meet and talk. That is not enough. That could be another pretence at dialogue. What matters is not to meet names but to have a meeting with social forces. And these forces must present themselves in an organized manner because those who would be part of the pact must, after all, have their community's mandate. A sensible anticrisis pact must arise from a certain propitious political climate. The authorities will gain nothing by the mere fact that they invite so and so to sit at a joint table, be it even a round table. This will be of little importance. What will be more important is whether the communities holding the views of so and so will regard the eventual provisions of the pact as their own.

[Question] That is an important element but, if I may say so, a formal element of the pact. And what about substance? What would it concern?

[Answer] I feel that it should concern thorough and fundamental political and institutional changes. These cannot be decisions of where to build a parking lot or hospital in a housing community. If such a pact were to come about and implement a redefinition of our political and economic life, and if it were to be characterized by broad social representation, it would constitute a great opportunity for the country and for its future [censored material] (Law of 31 July 1981 on "The Control of Publications and Public Events," Article 2, Paragraph 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99 revised in DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204, 1983)). This pact cannot disqualify or rule out those values or objectives which are the legacy of the "Solidarity" period. As I have already mentioned, the vision of Poland's future should not be looked for in the 1980-81 period. However, this does not mean that a significant step forward can be made without taking into account those values and objectives that continue to exist in social awareness and which are tied to that period.

[Question] Some people feel that the principal value and objective of those years was anarchy and antistate platitudes.

[Answer] No. The principal objective of that period was the creation of a normal, democratic state recognized and respected by society as a whole. And that objective should accompany the anticrisis pact. It should be a step in that very direction and should define how Poland is to



look on the road to the evolutionary implementation of that ideal. This is a road which, I believe, will not be brief and on which many difficulties and surprises await us, i.e., society, the authorities and the opposition. It is worth anticipating them in such a pact in order to minimize their possible negative social effects for the benefit of all.

#### **Reader Suggests Memorial to Stalin's Victims in Poland**

26000078a Warsaw *KONFRONTACJE* in Polish  
No 9, Sep 88 p 31

[Letter to the editor by Boguslaw Baj: "Memorial to the Victims of Stalinism in Poland"]

[Text] ...During their transportation on railway freight cars, thousands of people died of hunger and cold. How many Poles died of cold, hunger, and heavy labor in work camps? How many were murdered in the prisons of Vilnius and Lvov in 1939-41? ([censored material] (31 July 1981 Law on control of publications and public performances, Article 2, Point 3 in *DZIENNIK USTAW*, No. 20, Item 99, amended 1983, *DZIENNIK USTAW*, No. 44, Item 204)). And in 1944-48, how many soldiers and officers of the Home Army and Peasant Battalions were arrested and imprisoned? Why did Gen Leopold Okulicki, commandant of the Home Army and Peasant Battalions, and Mr Jankowski, the Polish Republic's delegate, die in Lubyanka Prison?

How many Poles died of malnutrition and from heavy labor in the camps of Vorkuta and Murmansk, Molotovsk and Narylsk, in the Urals camps and in Krasnoyarsk, Cher-Lag and Kolyma, Chukotka and on the Sakhalin Islands and in other forced-labor camps?

In the far north and east of the USSR and in Siberia, there are cemeteries that no one will ever find, and in these cemeteries lie thousands of political prisoners and no one will ever light candles on their graves for All Saint's Day.

To honor the memory of those who will never return to their homes in Poland and to their mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, I propose that we build a monument to the Polish victims of Stalinism.

We, the living witnesses of these crimes, ask our Polish journalists to listen to our memories and describe what we experienced together with those who will never return! We were arrested and imprisoned for fighting for freedom and an independent Poland, the Poland of our youthful dreams.

I write about this because I myself was a prisoner in a labor camp in the USSR in 1945-55. My name was taken from me and I was given the number Z-796.

## **YUGOSLAVIA**

### **Markovic Defends Letter Denouncing Milosevic Tactics**

28000015 Zagreb *DANAS* in Serbo-Croatian  
13 Sep 88 pp 12-14

[Interview with Dragoslav Markovic, member of the Council of the Federation, by Djuro Zagorac: "Why I Wrote the Letter"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[DANAS] Your letter addressed to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, which you called upon for protection against unfounded attacks and slander, evoked a torrent of new protests; there are demands for your expulsion from the LC, from the Council of the Federation, and there are even demands to institute criminal proceedings against you; you have found yourself proclaimed an "enemy of Serbia."... What were the reasons that led you to write that letter to the highest party leadership in the country?

[Markovic] Those reasons are given in the letter itself and they are briefly stated as follows: first, I really do not consider myself responsible for all the shortcomings and possible deficiencies of the 1974 Constitution nor for the adverse consequences that have followed it for relations both in Yugoslavia and also in Serbia; second, because these attacks on me were also attacks on the entire former leadership of SR Serbia, and they did not pertain only to possible shortcomings and oversights related to adoption of the Constitution, but also to the entire policy conducted over that period of time; and third, because my political commitment has been interpreted and described as treason, as careerism, especially in Slobodan Milosevic's interview in *NIN* and on certain other occasions....

Aside from those reasons, as is evident from the letter, there was also a great concern about the development of the situation in the country and about the serious deterioration of interethnic relations and the rise of nationalism of every kind throughout the country, which is a direct threat to Yugoslavia's security and stability.

[DANAS] If we have understood you correctly, you are not saying that the 1974 constitutions were free of shortcomings and deficiencies, but you still feel that you are not responsible for what you are charged with. Isn't there a contradiction here?

[Markovic] The constitutions were unanimously adopted, after lengthy discussions and debates, in all assemblies in the country. During those debates there were numerous major differences. The highest political bodies in the country committed themselves to overcoming those differences; they were debated even in meetings of the LCY Central Committee and in various gatherings in other political and government bodies, and

often Comrade Tito, president of the LCY and the SFRY, personally took part, and Comrade Kardelj was directly involved at all times. The constitutions that were adopted were the result of what everyone reached agreement on, departing, of course, from many demands and original commitments. We must bear in mind, then, the sociohistorical circumstances and conditions under which all those essential issues were debated and decided.

As I said in the letter, it is well known that I took many positions in those constitutional debates which were not adopted in the final solutions, and, as is quite widely known, I was even proclaimed a Serbian nationalist for that reason.

So, to cite just some of those positions: on the question of the veto or consensus in decision making in federal bodies and the SFRY Assembly, the question of parity, I favored adoption of another chamber in the SFRY Assembly in addition to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; I proposed greater powers and jurisdiction for executive bodies on matters which lie in federal jurisdiction; I contested the views that called for negating hierarchical relations between higher and lower entities in the government system, and so on. Just so there is no confusion, I did not oppose unanimity in principle, but the broader scope demanded for that unanimity. The same applies to the question of parity. People must know that I, like all the others in the leadership of SR Serbia, considered it my obligation to make concessions, just as others did in fact.

[DANAS] Those critical opinions and charges of Serbian nationalism were especially evident when it came to creating the structure of SR Serbia and to the place and position of the autonomous provinces within it, both during the debates of the Constitution and its enactment, and also and particularly in 1976, 1977, and 1978, when the first critical analyses were made of implementation of the constitutional solutions in SR Serbia and of the proposals offered for building unity in the republic. Since many of the positions you favored are well known, why all these accusations now?

[Markovic] I also expressed my opinion on that in the letter. This is an orientation which would like to negate the entire previous period in every respect.

[DANAS] Immediately after you sent the letter and we had the first look at its content, the accusations began, and among those that sounded most terrible were those about "betrayal of the interests of the Serbian people." Did you ever think that this letter of yours to the top level of the party in the country would cause something like this, did you count on this kind of "revenge"?

[Markovic] In view of the situation in SR Serbia and the awakened emotions and the flaring passions, I counted on being attacked and not being understood. I must say, however, that I still did not count on the scope and

intensity of this synchronized campaign. The working people and citizens in SR Serbia have a great many real reasons for dissatisfaction. The unsettled constitutional status of SR Serbia, the unfavorable development, which has even gone in the opposite direction from the basic constitutional principles. Many vague things and over-general statements of principle, which were an expression of the current balance of power and of the demand for compromises in the 1974 constitutions, over the last decade, and even before that, have rightly given the Serbian people a feeling of inequality. This has gained equal impetus from the grave position of Serbs and all non-Albanian inhabitants in Kosovo and the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, which occurred after the counterrevolution and which is continuing. Both of these burning problems of the Serbian people, which objectively exist, need greater understanding and involvement from the entire Yugoslav community, much more and much faster than has been the case up to now. In this respect, the demands coming from the leadership of SR Serbia are altogether warranted.

However, it is just this kind of objective situation that makes it imperative to show a high degree of responsibility and to resolutely stand aloof from all antisocialist and nationalistic forces which would like to use this situation and jeopardize the basic foundations of our socialist community and its security. I feel and I believe that that responsibility and awareness of the danger are not sufficiently present in many people, and those are the main reasons why I decided to make my letter public, not the desire, as it is now asserted, that if in so doing "I could somehow return to the political scene of Serbia," that I would "get support from the people," that I would seek nomination and election," and so on. That, of course, never even occurred to me. I am aware of the natural laws (by contrast with many people who are older than me or somewhat younger, but who for a long time have been actually or supposedly ill) and that in my case that is not something that would be possible in any respect. However, while I am alive, while I have any strength at all, I will fight as a citizen and Communist for brotherhood and unity, for ethnic equality, for all the rights and full equality of the Serbian people in our socialist self-managed and democratic community.

[DANAS] What is your explanation as to why only you are the target of the accusations, along with certain other former leaders, but not those who were in the leadership at the same time you were and held responsible posts, and even now are officials?

[Markovic] You will have to look elsewhere for an answer to that.

[DANAS] They had begun to accuse you even for the mere fact of sending the letter, that is, before its content was even known. How do you interpret that?

[Markovic] There is no logical explanation. In the atmosphere in which we now live everything is possible, even attacking a member of the LC who, exercising his right in the bylaws, considers it necessary to address the highest leadership of his party. In a situation when there is no normal and documented debate, many things occur in twisted form. One of the serious arguments emphasized in the attacks on me is the fact that I disputed the proceedings and conclusions of the Eighth Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee. As is evident from the letter, I mentioned the eighth meeting only in the context of the support given to the proceedings of the meeting, which at that time was unusual, through hundreds of telegrams from work collectives and various organizations, and I compared that to similar expressions and demonstrations at the time of the mass movement in Croatia. To be sure, I spoke critically about the situation in the League of Communists of Serbia and about certain trends and I furthered opinion in which perhaps I was not altogether and fully in the right, but even now I do not see this as the reason for the campaign which has been conducted against me.

It is hard to understand why in the League of Communists of Serbia, where there was such resolute advocacy of consistent enforcement of the principle of democratic centralism and in which demands were made opposing federalization of the LCY, they have been disputing at the same time the decisions of the LCY Central Committee, not only by individuals, but also by numerous forums and gatherings. They have even been pointing up the danger of a possible formalistic attitude toward the principle of democratic centralism. Is it possible for that principle to apply only when it comes to the attitude toward the Eighth Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee?

[DANAS] They have been accusing you of giving support to the forces defeated at the eighth meeting. How much truth is there in that?

[Markovic] It is quite well known, at least to a goodly portion of the LC and especially the leadership team of the Serbian LC, that since 1986, since I retired, I have not taken an active part in political life in any respect. On that occasion, because of disagreement with the personnel changes proposed and the procedures and methods used to arrive at them, I declared that I was profoundly convinced that this would not be a good thing (and that I would like to be wrong about this), that I would not do anything to make the situation more difficult for the new leadership, but that by my absence from public life I would clearly distance myself from anything aggressive. And I have held to that consistently, patiently taking the varied criticism, both warranted and unwarranted which has been made of me from various quarters. However, when this exceeded reasonable limits and when I realized that this had been inspired above all by Slobodan Milosevic, chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee (I am thinking of the statements he made and especially the interview in

NIN), then I felt an obligation to come to the defense of my integrity and the policy conducted in SR Serbia over a lengthy period in the past.

[DANAS] At that time, you were also one of those who opposed the candidacy of Milosevic to be chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee?

[Markovic] Yes, I was. But I don't believe that that fact has significance for the situation in which I have found myself, constantly accused and attacked with or without reason. Incidentally, 2 years before that I was also very decidedly opposed to election of Ivan Stambolic as chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

[DANAS] The greatest sin attributed to you in various gatherings is that you have been attacking Slobodan Milosevic?

[Markovic] I have not been talking about Slobodan Milosevic as an individual, as is evident from my letter, in which I differ from him, who has been saying ugly and insulting things about me and other political figures from the earlier leadership of SR Serbia. It is true that I have spoken critically about certain of his views and activities, which might be the subject of a dispute and disagreement, but in and of itself this cannot be proclaimed in advance and condemned as "betrayal of the Serbian people." How is one to square those accusations with the fact that nothing at all has been said about the ugly and insulting things which Dusan Mitevic, for example, uttered in the last meeting of the Belgrade City Committee of the LC concerning Comrade Stipe Suvar, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee (without mentioning him by name, but providing sufficient clues so that one can easily determine the individual referred to). Are there after all untouchables, although we say that there are none, that they have left the scene?

[DANAS] It was said at the Eighth Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee that Serbia is tired of leaderism and its representatives. One gets the impression, however, that in spite of this a new leader of that stamp has nevertheless been born.

[Markovic] That is true. The grave economic situation, the great social problems, the position of the Serbian people, which have been referred to, and especially the situation in Kosovo, have favored that emergence. In meetings, they carry pictures of Slobodan Milosevic, they sing songs about him, he is publicly proclaimed Comrade Tito, and so on. Neither Slobodan Milosevic nor others in the present leadership distance themselves from such outpourings of support and demonstrations of confidence. It is not difficult to answer the question of what this signifies under present conditions, when we do not have the indispensable democratization either in the LC or in society.



It is a fact that we as a society, in the country as a whole, have achieved a certain level of public scrutiny of proceedings and a democratic spirit in relations. We cannot, of course, absolutize that and look upon it as something that we can be altogether satisfied with. Under our conditions and in the system in which we still find ourselves, that democratization cannot come about unless relations are democratized within the LC and unless its place and role in the system is defined. That process, although it has been initiated, has not been taken to the end. This process cannot be either effective or rapid with prestigious individuals and "leaders."

[DANAS] Among the series of accusations is one that you began to advocate and fight for democracy, but only after you had left office, when you no longer had power. There is particular mention of the lack of democracy in the conduct of personnel policy in your time.

[Markovic] I would first like to mention that the fight to conquer space for democratization of relations has been a lengthy and tortuous one both within the LC and also in society as a whole. This is a long-range and contradictory process which has not yet been completed. And we have reached the degree we have because of the clear orientation and also the social premises created by the 1974 Constitution, in spite of all its many shortcomings and deficiencies. Incidentally, I can resolutely assert that I was among those who for years advocated greater public scrutiny of proceedings, saying that there was no responsibility without public scrutiny (this can be checked in the transcripts from the closed meetings). The basic thing, however, is that the world has changed in the meantime, that fortunately we ourselves and our consciousness have also been changing. Instead of the Cold War, we live in a period of detente, instead of Stalinist-bureaucratic pressure in the international working class movement, we have the trends toward perestroika and thorough reform. And even within the country, regardless of all the shortcomings, inconsistencies, and indecisiveness, there is the process of democratization and public scrutiny and of liberation from hard-shell recurrences of dogmatic consciousness. And in the name of that awareness and conviction and advanced consciousness, I consider it altogether legitimate and justified for me to advocate a strengthening of democratic developments and changes in society, and also a shattering of bureaucratic restrictions and statist pressures from the time in which I held high political and government office, and getting beyond "my time."

Much criticism today rightly addresses the lack of democracy in personnel policy, the monopoly over that policy, the absence of public scrutiny which has been a characteristic of that situation. Is any additional argument needed beyond those that in the context of internal decisionmaking and the absence of public scrutiny of proceedings it was not possible to count on democracy in personnel policy? I am convinced, however, that it is not necessary to look back to see the lack of democracy in

personnel policy and election proceedings. What yesterday was the rule of behavior and clear political commitment, which followed from the undemocratic nature of the League of Communists and of society as a whole, today signifies a departure from the socially verified positions and principles. Nevertheless, in this regard only the first steps are being taken toward changing the situation, and even then there is quite a bit of vacillation, a great deal of resistance, conscious departures from the proclaimed commitments (the requirement that there be more than one candidate, the secret ballot...). This is a characteristic of the situation in the Serbian LC today (regardless of the fact that there has been harsh public criticism of personnel policy in earlier periods as well), and I have written critically about that.

[DANAS] The relationship between the republic and the provinces is dominant at this moment and has been for a long time on the political scene in SR Serbia, and indeed throughout the country. That was also the case in your time, so that it would be interesting to hear from you how the provinces gained the independence which has put them practically on a par with the republics.

[Markovic] I will say at once that it is wrong to think that the essential and basic solutions related to relations in SR Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces within it were established only by the 1974 Constitution. The most bizarre changes in this respect occurred through the 1968 and 1971 constitutional amendments.

We should point out that in the constitutions, especially in the SFRY Constitution, the socialist autonomous provinces are the only sociopolitical communities which are not defined and spelled out except for the mention that they are not states, but merely sociopolitical communities within SR Serbia and constituent elements of the Federation. But it was not spelled out here with any precision what it means for them to be parts of SR Serbia and what significance it has that they are constituent elements of the Federation.

The basic shortcoming of the constitutional solutions is vagueness, confinement to general principles and generalities as the way out in seeking compromises for views that were not altogether reconciled. It is a fact that even on the basis of the present constitutional solutions, had the balance of power been different, development might also have taken the opposite direction and need not necessarily have resulted in disintegration of SR Serbia. However, within the processes of general disintegration and the strengthening of statist social relations and the processes of bureaucratization in the country, this was fully manifested in the way SR Serbia was set up. It is certain that the present economic relations, the departure from the economic reform dating from the mid-sixties, did not favor processes of integration in the country nor indeed in SR Serbia. This very soon became evident and as early as 1976 the Presidency of SR Serbia adopted a decision to form a professional working group to critically evaluate practice in implementation of the

constitutions and to propose conclusions. This fact illustrates the balance of society at that time and the kind of atmosphere that prevailed: when in presenting the report on the 2-year efforts of the Assembly of SR Serbia, I made the observation which ran approximately like this: up to now emphasis in implementing the Constitution has rightly been placed on setting up the autonomous provinces, while there was neglect of building unity in the republic—this was a subject of fierce attacks by representatives from the provinces in the internal meetings of all bodies of political leadership.

[DANAS] In the duel with the top officials in the provinces you enjoyed the favor of Edvard Kardelj, they say, when it came to examining relations in SR Serbia. How is it, then, that the demands for change were not adopted while Tito and Kardelj were still alive?

[Markovic] The balance of power was such that I did not dare to "admit" that we had consulted and sought the opinion of Comrade Kardelj and obtained his support.

[DANAS] Of whom were you afraid?

[Markovic] Attempts at open attacks on Kardelj, whom they called a patriarch anyway, and they called me the bishop. Although it is true that the so-called Blue Book had to be withdrawn in that situation, the issues and problems it raised were still open and were to be found in the documents adopted later by the Serbian LC Central Committee, though only, it is true, in somewhat milder form. It is a fact, however, that there were no great results in carrying out such resolutions either, only certain negligible shifts were accomplished. The disputes, as is well known, have remained up to the present day, and the amendments which have been offered make it possible, I am convinced, to achieve a solution to this burning and long-standing problem.

[DANAS] In spite of the facts which have been cited, you are being fiercely accused, and the strange thing is that even elementary democratic and human rights are not being respected in this.

[Markovic] It is inevitable and indeed natural after a lengthy period of exclusiveness for any radical step toward democratization of public life to be accompanied by various destructive and other negative and intolerant things not supported by argument. You see, it moves like a torrent and at first clears everything away. But that is a passing phase. In and of itself this should not be of concern. It is something else that causes concern: the total absence of responsibility for an oath uttered in public, the complete indifference toward many alien demonstrations. I am convinced, however, that this must also be only a phase in our development.

[DANAS] The critics have predicted that the views you have advocated will not remain isolated, that people will soon come forth to support you. What is your comment on that forecast?

[Markovic] That was said in a rather ironic connotation. That is, as proof of my "betrayal of the interests of the Serbian people," it is said that certain newspapers in Yugoslavia will support me and my views, and at the same time they add—"let them go ahead." Is it possible that in spite of everything we have arrived at a situation in our socialist community where the publication of my letter can be judged to be "betrayal of the interests of the Serbian people," not to mention the support given to my views in other communities? That kind of thinking is absurd and monstrous. Is it possible that people think that the years of the war and revolution and the more than 40 years of our life together in a socialist and federal community have been in vain?!

**Appeal for Harmony in Macedonian Daily**  
28000006 Skopje NOVAK MAKEDONIJA  
in Macedonian 17 Sep 88 p 9

[Article by Nikola Radulovic, MA, Belgrade]

[Text] Come to your senses, people.

Recently we have witnessed a particular escalation of mutual attacks, accusations, and misunderstandings by individual leaders, forums, and especially the press. It is all taking place in a public scene that resembles a circus. The people are alarmed, surprised, and frightened. Besides all the difficulties, particularly economic ones, which the people are encountering, now malicious thoughts and fear for one's life are being dumped on our heads.

We expected (and expect) economic difficulties, an attack on a part of Yugoslavia (Kosovo), arguments about perfecting the system, ways to unite and improve it, but we are witnesses to increasing divisions. Have we forgotten all the criteria, regulations, and laws that move a society forward? Don't we see that instead of accelerating, all the factors mentioned above, which are becoming entrenched, not only do not enhance or promote development, but actually throw it into an abyss from which we will be hard-pressed to extricate ourselves? (And if we do extricate ourselves, it will be with "serious injuries.")

Comrade (male) Politicians (females in any case have few of the highest positions), you have been entrusted with exceptionally important tasks for this tormented Yugoslavia. Why have you forgotten that? Why have you forgotten that you are the Yugoslav leadership, that you are responsible for every part of Yugoslavia, whether or not at this particular moment you hold some important republic office? Why don't all of you go to Kosovo, to the spot itself, to survey the difficulties and in unity to undertake measures for the defense of this part of our fatherland? I am always angry when some catastrophe occurs and the affected regions are rarely visited by leaders from other republics, or by those with federal-level offices. Yet think what it would mean for the stricken regions, at least in a moral sense, if all at once

they were visited by representatives of other regions. That would mean a great deal as well for our overall Yugoslav reputation. A wild idea comes to my mind (and perhaps it is not so wild). Why doesn't the Yugoslav Presidium or/(and) the LCY (Presidium) move temporarily to Kosovo? The Presidium is the head of state, and the head of state or the commander in chief should be where he is needed most, "where the battle is the fiercest." In this way acute problems would be resolved much more readily and much more effectively. Consider these admonitions well. The worst thing at this moment would be to seek retribution and to have conflicts publicly or at closed sessions. There is an impression that the irredentists (read: "the enemy") is succeeding. Besides the malicious acts being done in Kosovo and Metohija, relations have been destroyed in the Yugoslav leadership, and in Yugoslav media, and if this also takes place among the people, it will be terrible. I am not pleading that we should have the exact same opinion on every issue, that a struggle of ideas is not needed, but in strategic determinations there can be no differences, especially in implementing mutual decisions. Anyone who does not accept this should not take part, since experience shows that he should not do so. You must with the help of the people become involved. The impression is that everyone in chorus wants to go somewhere, but won't move anywhere. It is obvious that a certain number of those who are calling for action should act themselves. And something else: You should require the specialized archival services to collect all the resolutions for the past 10 years, and to calculate their effectiveness at conferences and meetings. Perhaps after such an analysis, you could propose a law or "resolution" forbidding the approval of new resolutions, while the "repeated ones" should be returned for further examination and amendments (and you may also decide that this is a wild idea).

Esteemed editors and journalists (By esteemed, I am thinking of any earlier period), where has our esteemed journalism gotten lost? Have you forgotten your profession and your code, can't you see that you are beginning to write a black page in the history of our journalism? Have you thought how your paper or articles will look on the morning after, or do you recall that once, maybe just a few months ago, you wrote differently about certain events, occurrences, or personalities? The readers are not professionals, but they know, at least, that there is only a single truth. Do you really live under the impression that you will be believed when the newspaper in each individual city writes differently about the same event? Perhaps you fail to notice when you convert one participant at a meeting into two, or make one out of ten? Perhaps you have found some chemical or biological

formula for joining and separating mass? One gets the impression that most journalists have become prophets. They look at what is happening all over the world, they look at what is happening in all the distant regions of Yugoslavia, but they don't notice what is happening in their own city, region, or republic. If "prophecy" is not in question, then perhaps you have decided to sell more papers in other parts of Yugoslavia than at home. Why should a man have to buy an out-of-town paper in order to find out what is happening in his own surroundings? It is hard to believe that you are afraid of local authorities, or that you write on order, since you are free, objective journalists, who cannot count on any other career outside of journalism, especially not one in politics. So that we do not live in uncertainty, try to explain this phenomenon to us. If what is happening is not clear to you either, comrade editors, try quickly to meet, to explain things and to reach an agreement. If we can have a pool of unaligned journalists, why can't we have a republic-province-opstina pool? And something else: read your own newspapers (recently one director, with justification, was accused of not reading his own newspaper). Perhaps you too will reach the conclusion that these are not the same newspapers of a year ago, or even a few months ago. If you do not recognize that and do not quickly undertake changes, it will be clear that editorial work is not for you, that you must find some other line of work. That is honest. Otherwise, you cannot go on this way, you will anger the people, and you will be responsible to posterity.

Authors and writers of letters, polemics, and reactions and all kinds of "letters to the editor" columns. We and our names are given the chance of appearing in the newspapers. That is good, if it continues to be that way in the future. The newspapers are written by the people. (Editors, we congratulate you for this initiative.) Many write well, objectively with good arguments and involvement. That too is useful. But what were you yesterday?

Many of you were officials, judges, high-ranking officers, veterans and other influential citizens. What did you do with those offices? Why didn't you do then what you are thinking and writing about now? Why didn't you criticize and brand the people and events yesterday that you are reviling today? I believe that today as well you criticize (and we criticize) those who work more and do more than you (or we) do. To sum up, we are making a contribution to the development, stabilization, and common purpose of our fatherland with our actions. It is easy to lecture others, especially those who are at great or even medium distance from you.

Come to your senses, people! Let us make bridges to unity, rather than a pit for divisions.



## BULGARIA

### **Bulgarian Economic Reform Efforts Described, Praised**

26000095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
9 Sep 88 p 5

[Article by Krzysztof Koprowski: "Bulgarian Reforms, a Good Start"]

[Text] This winter the Bulgarians no longer have to be afraid. Because work on the fifth 1,000-megawatt unit in the atomic power plant in Kozloduj (for a total of 2,760 MW) was begun, the share of current flowing out of the nuclear power plant in the country's energy balance increased from 28 percent to 34.8 percent, as compared to last year. And we know that atomic energy, despite the Chernobyl disaster, is, on the whole, far more reliable than conventional energy.

There are also other reasons for optimism. The latest economic reforms, applied gradually since 1985, have begun to bring results this year. For example, in the first 6 months of this year, economic results, from the standpoint of quantity as well as quality, were better than in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, and what is more important, were also better than this year's plan had envisaged. Furthermore, 50-percent execution of the annual plan attests to the fact that the Bulgarian economy is functioning steadily and a 10.2 percent rise in production in the nonfarming sectors confirms that Bulgaria intends to return to the high growth rate of development that it boasted of in the 1970's.

A 90-percent growth in net production was attained in the first 6 months thanks to a 9-percent rise, compared to last year, in labor productivity. At the same time, the energy- and materials-intensiveness of the economy dropped. This is a confirmation of the quality changes being made. Just as the fact that the best results were recorded in electronics and biotechnologies, i.e., the most modern and promising branches. Enterprises in the Elektronika group were responsible for 30 percent of the total increase in industrial production.

### **Is the Reform Permanent?**

The Bulgarians do not like to talk about reform; they usually use other terms. They also prefer slow, but regular, changes. In moving forward the entire time, although not without encountering obstacles, they try to avoid publicity. And yet in the Bulgarian economy enormously interesting things have been happening for several years: banking reforms have been made, free trade zones have been established (in Widyn and Rus), there are more (than in Hungary, for example) joint enterprises with foreign capital, managing directors are chosen through competition, and the assets of enterprises have passed into the hands of the workforces. Ministries have disappeared and have been replaced by voluntary associations; the mechanism of management

and the planning system have been simplified; reform in trade is taking place (all sectors, including the private sector, are given equal rights under the law); and the wage system is being reformed. In the very near future, prices and taxes in Bulgaria will be reformed.

These changes would be impossible, or at least more difficult, if they had not been preceded by political changes. They were begun by the February (1985) Bulgarian Communist Party plenum, strengthened by the 13th Congress in April 1986, and expanded at last year's July plenum, the fifth and sixth session of the National Assembly, and this year's National Party Conference. The paper delivered by 77 year old Todor Zivkov, titled "Basic Assumptions in the Concept of the Further Building of Socialism in Bulgaria," became the "catechism" of the changes. The goal is the creation of a "highly developed socialist society," and the means is self-management on all levels. From the government in the name of the people—as is so often repeated in Sofia—to the government of the people.

We should go back a little in time at this point to understand the meaning of the current transformations. Conventionally we can say that the present reform (or the "new economic rules") is in some sense a continuation of the profound changes which took place in 1947 (nationalization of industry), 1956 (especially in agriculture), and those of the mid-1960's (changes in management, additional pay for quality and initiative). However, the present reforms, as the British THE ECONOMIST wrote, are the most radical thus far. And they will still go on for at least a few years, which does not mean, of course, that there will be no more changes later.

### **Closer to the Market**

At the beginning of this year an entire set of documents pertaining to a comprehensive reconstruction of the mechanisms for managing the economy went into effect. They talk about—although perhaps not in this form—the requirements of the three S's: self-dependence, self-management, and self-financing. The state organs, and even more so the party organs, can no longer, as before, interfere in the activities of enterprises at every step. These decisions are now made by the Workers' Council, which is elected by the workforce, and the managing director, who is selected from among several candidates, and for a specific time period, by a process of competition.

The Bulgarians are seeking a new economic model, one which would correspond to the changed and still-changing internal and external conditions. This has been demonstrated by setting up economic mechanisms and a system of management in such a way that the enterprises will have the greatest amount of independence, that it will pay for the people to work thriftily and show initiative, and that Bulgarian products can be competitive on world markets. At the same time, because of

concern for the market, the rule was introduced that each enterprise must undertake a specified amount of production of market articles. If, because of its profile, it is not able to do this, it is required to pay a suitable sum into the market-production development fund. If, as early as 1985, each enterprise received from the ministry—let us say—100 indicators to implement, it now receives no more than 30; the rest depends on the contract concluded between the producer and the purchaser. Nor does the plan contain indicators and limits set by higher authorities and transmitted downwards, as in the traditional concept. The industrial plant itself prepares the plan, decides itself how many workers it will hire, how it will set up its budget (naturally, the new Ministry of Economy and Planning determines, based on the firm's past economic activities, what its production capacity is and how much energy, materials and supplies, etc., it will receive). The plan, prepared on this basis, returns to the office of the ministry. Then the plant signs a contract with the ministry for government orders.

Next, to fulfill the specific production tasks, the enterprise draws credits from the bank. Until recently, it had a choice of more than 10, most of them subsector banks (but it does not have to use the bank of its own subsector). It may also take advantage of the services of the Bulgarleasing firm, formed 3 years ago, which leases indispensable machines, equipment, computers, etc., both in Bulgaria and abroad.

#### Prices and Wages

Beginning this year, price reform goes into effect which will bring prices on the Bulgarian market closer to real prices, i.e., world-market prices. The self-dependence and self-financing of enterprises requires that most of the income remain in the hands of those who worked for it. And this process has already begun. Last year, enterprises turned over 60 percent of their receipts to the state treasury—this year the figure is only 51 percent.

Production plants will now fix wholesale prices, although the method by which they do this is rather clearly defined (but also differs depending on the character of the plant). The state, in order to maintain control over the activities of the enterprises, will exert an influence not only in terms of economics, but also in terms of administration. A new system of taxes and subsidies, which also went into effect at the beginning of the year, will serve this purpose.

The new method of establishing a wage fund is very interesting. It is aimed, as one might guess, at increasing labor productivity. And it will make it possible to earn more (there will be a wider range of wages) and to take additional jobs. Three groups of earnings have been established for three categories of employees. Skill and experience pay the most. The lowest pay will now be 170 leva, compared to the 140 received in the past. The upper limit has not yet been fixed. But we know that a specialist with a higher education, who demonstrates initiative and

enterprise, may earn as much as 1,000 leva (including bonuses). Employees do not pay taxes. This is done by the enterprise, which must, of course, earn the necessary money for this purpose. Also, an employee does not pay a progressive tax on a bonus of up to 80 percent of his salary.

Reduction of employment by a plant means that it receives more money for division. However, if the employment limit is exceeded, the plant's modernization and development is automatically reduced. Therefore, it is well to think twice before making a decision.

Reform in Bulgaria is still taking place. There are fewer and fewer unknowns and the rules of play are becoming clearer. The Bulgarians intend to go into the next 5-year plan with well-tuned economic mechanisms.

### HUNGARY

#### Livestock Losses Increase Because of Lack of Modernization

25000038c Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian  
17 Oct 88 p 9

[Unattributed article based on an MTI report: "There is No Money for Reconstruction: Livestock Loss Increases in Szolnok County"]

[Text] Lacking financial resources, and because state subsidies to supplement self-financing were discontinued, the reconstruction of 20 large-scale Szolnok County livestock breeding farms had to be postponed. A majority of the beef cattle, hog, and poultry plants in need of renewal were built 20-30 years ago and are by now fully obsolete. For example, only one-fifth of the 50 hog farms is existence meet present day requirements. Despite substantial losses incurred in past years—including a billion forints of loss due to drought—farms within the county do not want to surrender the idea of renewing their animal husbandry technology; they are regrouping and establishing reserves for this purpose. Not even in this way can they accomplish the task by using their own resources. They are expecting further help from the central government.

The ratio of livestock loss has increased during the past years. Latest calculations indicate that during the first half of this year 864 calves, 20,000 piglets, 4,000 sheep, and approximately 500,000 head of poultry died. Their combined value amounts to approximately 25 million forints. This represents a substantial loss even if not all of that amount can be credited to the obsolete condition of the farms.

## POLAND

### **Economic Society Sponsors Meeting of Polish, Soviet Economists**

26000107b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
29 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by (Kos): "Cooperation Between Polish and Soviet Economists—How Do We Hasten the Pace of Reform?"]

[Text] (Our own information) According to Polish and Soviet economists attended a meeting on 28 September at the Polish Economics Society [PTE], the implementation of reform in Poland and perestroika in the USSR have both encountered the same problems.

At the invitation of the PTE Executive Board, a delegation of the USSR All-Union Economics Society arrived in Warsaw on 27 September. The purpose of the visit which will last until 4 October is to exchange experiences and views on current and future problems of economic and social development in both countries and on the state of and need for reforming economic mechanisms and the national economies' entire system of functioning.

Chairing the meeting, PTE Chairman and Vice Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski presented the Polish side's proposals which included a Russian edition of the journal EKO-NOMIKA POLSKA whose only other foreign-language edition is in English, a joint bulletin on the problems of reform in Poland and the USSR and cooperation between the PTE's journal, WEKTORY GOSPO-DARKI, and economics journals in the USSR. The exchange of economic lecturers will also be continued. There was also a proposal by the Soviet side for cooperation between the regional organs of both organizations aimed at activating and promoting young economists and for closer contact on the forum of an international association of economists.

Interest in creating closer contacts was confirmed by the chairman of the Soviet delegation, Doctor Viktor Naumovich Krasilnikov, vice chairman of the Central Board of the All-Union Economics Society. The details of this plan will be agreed upon in later talks.

Our Soviet guests also met with representatives of universities and with economic, government and political figures in Warsaw, Lodz and Lublin.

Taking the opportunity offered by the visit of the Soviet economists to Poland, a RZECZPOSPOLITA journalist asked Doctor V. N. Krasilnikov what were the most important economic problems to be solved by Soviet economists under perestroika.

"For several years now, a large-scale concept for reconstructing the country's economic mechanism has been under preparation," he said. "Now the chief problem is how to implement that concept.

"We know that there are many obstacles to reform and that these are of both a subjective and objective nature.

"It would be far easier had we applied the laws of economics from the very start but for so many years, the principles of socialism have been implemented by means of government directives. We have to get this practice under control and for that reason, economic and political changes are necessary. The All-Union Economics Society has played a large role in the preparation and realization of the concepts for change".

### **State Control of Economy Faulted; Political Reform Too Little, Too Late**

26000094 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
9 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Prof Cezary Jozefiak, director, Department of Economic Growth, Institute of Political Economy, University of Lodz, by Andrzej Leszczynski: "The State Should Not Take the Place of the Market"]

[Text] We read in the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee's Eighth Plenum: "The Central Committee sees as its most urgent, nationwide political goal the establishment of a broad coalition of proreform forces and cooperation among those who see a need and want to participate in working for change." This trend of exchanges of opinions and attitudes is already present in our columns. Discussion is being recorded on conditions for restructuring the economy beginning with Mieczyslaw Krajewski's article entitled "The Political Forces of Restructuring" (TRYBUNA LUDU, 19 May 1988) and statements by Prof Igor Timofiejuk (TRYBUNA LUDU, 22 August 1988), Prof Leszek Gilejko (TRYBUNA LUDU 23 August 1988) and Prof Andrzej Kozminski (TRYBUNA LUDU, 26 August 1988).

Besides looking into the distant future, reflection on the choice of roads leading to desired forms and solutions on the nearer chronological horizon is needed. In this context, broad public deliberation on laying out a plan for consolidating the national economy for the years 1989-90 takes on special significance, a plan whose basis was formulated at the Eighth Plenum and whose concrete design the government issued before the end of November.

We invite an exchange of opinions in TRYBUNA LUDU, an exchange that expands the basis of public reflections and opinions, that supports the work of preparing this program. Today we are publishing the remarks of Cezary Jozefiak, director of the Department of Economic Growth at the Institute of Political Economy, University of Lodz.



[Question] We are talking in August 1988, in times of social tensions. And although one can find many external influences in them, at the bottom of these phenomena is real popular dissatisfaction with living conditions, with the economic situation in which Poland finds itself. What led to this situation? What, in an economist's opinion, preceded this setting in motion of public feelings this year, in recent months? What might one expect in the future?

[Answer] The question is phrased incorrectly. Investigating specific economic events, especially over such a short period, brings the danger of losing sight of the whole and cannot be the basis for future predictions. Rather, it should be asked what happened over six and a half years, since the introduction of martial law. How has that time been used to introduce necessary changes in the economy? In my opinion, in this longer period and especially in the time about which you asked, nothing has occurred that would have begun to pull us out of a serious, general crisis, including the economic one.

There is collapse in the economy. Worse than a crisis because it lacks self-directed corrective mechanisms.

[Question] It is hard for me to agree with such a generalized opinion. Naturally, I am not saying—because it is hard to say something like this today—that reform solutions already in operation include self-directed mechanisms that counteract the revival or emergence of various kinds of tensions, conflicts or outright pathologies. But on the other hand, let us acknowledge the facts. And it is a fact that after the genuine crises in the latter 1970's and early 1980's, until 1986 inclusive, national income increased rapidly, that store shelves were gradually filled, that, for the first time in quite a while, our balance of trade with hard currency countries is closing with a credit balance.

Admittedly, in 1987 we regressed as regards earned national income, while at the end of 1987 and beginning of 1988 a loosening of the market occurred and inflation is accelerating again. It is also true that there are other areas (i.e. residential construction) where progress thus far has been minimal or almost absent. But drawing the conclusion on this basis that "nothing has occurred that would pull us out of serious, general crisis" is, in my opinion, a misunderstanding.

[Answer] In areas such as the housing situation, environmental protection and certain others, we are regressing completely. In per capital national income, in our level of technology, etc., we are regressing in relation to all the rest of Europe. One does not emerge from such a collapse other than through an earthquake. I have in mind a shock as forceful as martial law, but turned in the opposite direction.

[Question] Pardon me, but that is not very clear.

[Answer] I mean decisively freeing society and the economy from excessive state control. We continue to have a system that blocks initiative and enterprise in all areas of public life—political, social, economic. The negative consequences of this existing blockage make state control ever more intolerable. Even if it diminishes, but too slowly, it is felt as an increasing constraint by the people. As a result, we see flight from the state into another world, into other sectors of ownership.

[Question] Let us try to make these general points specific. Why not start with your specialty, with the economy?

[Answer] Well, no. . . . Actually, I am not a politician but I feel that political solutions are also decisive for the economy.

[Question] But there is quite a bit going on in that field. . . .

#### In the Sphere of Politics

[Answer] There have been numerous changes but usually delayed and shallow ones. The government that, given general expectations for profound reforms, introduces superficial changes must be judged as helpless, powerless or even as consciously manipulating hopes with no desire to fulfill them.

In my opinion, the government has been liberalized but the system has not been reconstructed. In order to restructure it, one should start by truly establishing untransversable political boundaries. Untransversable because of *raison d'etat*, not because of the interests of one political group. So no one should question the party's monopoly, for example, in the matter of our alliances or foreign or military matters. But let a truly democratic system emerge within these boundaries.

I raised and justified this proposal in PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in 1981. Is it extremist? From whose point of view? Would the majority of the public lose on this?

I am not specifying those untransversable political boundaries. But they should open up the field for free association by the people, not just the intelligentsia, and to persuade everyone towards mutually competitive programs for healing social and economic life. The program that wins a public mandate, under conditions of democratic elections procedure, would be the one implemented. Consultations aimed at creating a "planned mixture" make no sense.

[Question] How would this be expressed?

[Answer] You want details but, as I said, I am not a politician. It is not I whom you have to ask.

### At the Bottom of the Economy

[Question] So perhaps we can move to the economy? The first months of implementation of the second stage of economic reform are behind us.

[Answer] As regards the state sector, it was announced that in the second stage of reform, open and secret state intervention in the affairs of enterprises through financial means, taxes, prices, etc. would operate more consistently. This is not working out very well. But even if it had worked out, it would not change the essence of the economic system. The point should not be to give the state administration new methods for governing enterprises but to liberate the enterprise from its authority. Even if the administration were a hundred times more efficient than it is. Yet we read in the plan for the second stage of reform that "the fundamental role of directing economic processes falls to the state," in all sectors of ownership.

[Question] Yes, but somewhat earlier it was stated that "one fundamental characteristic of the socialist method of administration is self-management." But in any case, does the directing function of the state not come to light in the West too? Not too long ago our Bonn correspondent revealed the unequivocal role of the federal government in establishing a gigantic arms industry group which is to arise out of a union between Daimler-Benz and Messerschmidt-Boelkow-Blom.

[Answer] Except that there the state is intervening in an unequivocally formulated market governed by its own laws, the commandment of efficiency. Thus an intervention on the basis of an exception. It is used everywhere. But it does not destroy the market orientation of ties in the economy. Here these ties, e.g., interdependence among supply, demand and prices, appear only at fringes of the economy. The state administration determines what goes on in the main areas of the economy. It dresses its decisions in monetary clothing but in fact it is the distributor of the physical sources of raw materials, materials and production.

This is called a "planned economy that exploits the market mechanism." This idea seemed good in 1956, when it was not applied anyway. Today we know—and this is knowledge tested in Hungarian and Polish experience—that when the market is not instrumentally exploited to implement quantitative plans, then the economy is inefficient and unattractive to consumers. The administration should not incapacitate the market.

[Question] What is that supposed to mean?

[Answer] First, eliminating the barriers that block or distort the interdependence of supply, demand and prices. Hence, for example, depriving state offices of the right to determine the allocation of raw materials and materials, as well as zloty, dollars and rubles, among various branches and enterprises. Every enterprise

should administer what it earns in the marketplace, not what it manages to "wring out" of the state. And buy what it needs, without mandatory "intervention" in trade. And, of course, not the government but the market should control prices.

People are irritated not only by increases in prices but also by their pointlessness, the lack of impact on improving the consumer goods situation. In 1982 it was promised that markets for the means of production would be balanced by the end of 1983. But something always got in the way. But since the barriers cannot be removed, then apparently the method falls short and one has to take up the matter from a different angle. At least not from a price freeze.

[Question] But at bottom, does this proposal not aim toward further tightening of the inflationary spiral?

### The Way to the Destination

[Answer] My proposal does not promise an immediate halt to increasing prices but rather the creation of a mechanism whereby both supply and demand would begin to react to the movement of prices. The road would not be easy but, in contrast to the present one, it would lead to equilibrium. First one should eliminate the blockades I mentioned. Also, minimize central investments, make taxes uniform and free prices from administrative control.

[Question] A pretty picture. . . .

[Answer] Just a minute. Until the markets are stabilized, enterprises should not be permitted to increase profits through inflation, while employees should be compensated for increases in the cost of living. We are dealing here with purely professional matters that are not easy to explain in a newspaper. But let us talk about the point in general. Start with what would happen with the amounts earned by enterprises from the movement of prices. From these funds, and no others, the enterprise would pay their employees' compensation. Not at a limitless level but according to a percentage established on a nationwide scale by a credible "joint commission." The surplus of inflationary profits over and above compensation would be transferred as an inflationary tax, not to the budget but to the National Bank of Poland. Then why and what to do with this we will again set aside.

What is important is that enterprise profits not increase despite inflation. And because prices are increasing, demand for capital goods and services must decrease. So the producers of capital goods and services would be the first to face difficulties in marketing. They could no longer increase prices and therefore could not earn money for compensating their employees. Unless they were to steer an even greater part of their production toward profitable exports or a consumer goods market

where prices can still rise. But that is exactly the kind of restructuring that is the point here. The consumer goods market can only be stabilized through an increase in supply.

[Question] Yes, but prices. . . .

[Answer] Would increase as long as this automatic restructuring did not increase supply for the consumer goods market more or less to the current level of consumer demand.

[Question] Given all this, you have not considered the fact that there are monopolists in Poland.

[Answer] I have considered it. Those that can should be broken up into individual enterprises. The rest should be placed in competition with imports. That is why from the start there should be free exchange of currency between exporters and importers, so that a balanced currency rate would be established. The state could prohibit imports of various items but not those that are produced by monopolists in Poland. Then they could not demand a higher price than the import price, supplemented by the current currency rate.

As you can see, I am referring only to market mechanisms. Only the inflationary tax is an administrative prosthesis, but it also disappears with the stabilization of the consumer market.

[Question] And the state's role?

[Answer] A number of important matters are left to the state that the market cannot and should not resolve. There is the whole of social policy; there is also macroeconomic policy, especially budget and monetary policy. But in peacetime the state should not take the place of the market and lower itself to the role of distributor of concrete, gasoline or meat.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

**Economic, Social Costs of Market Reform Viewed**  
*26000100 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish*  
*No 40, 1 Oct 88 p 6*

[Article by Jerzy Kleer and Andrzej Mozolowski: "The Hour of Truth"]

[Text] Everyone who sits down at the roundtable—and all thinking people in Poland in general—agrees on the goal of desired economic intentions: They are supposed to lead to economic equilibrium in Poland, to an improvement in the existence of its citizens. Nor does the road leading to this goal arouse doubts in anyone (besides dogmatists), although there may be differences of opinion as to the pace at which it should be followed. This direction is the market economy—the market with

all its benefits, despite the problems it must generate. Doctrinal barriers, clearly visible not that long ago, have for the most part been broken down.

But this is where general agreement ends and the sphere of doubts and insinuations begins. We are not referring to the barriers—very important but already discussed many times—hidden in the nooks of the apparatus of state and party authority, such as the resistance of fossilized matter to the new, the necessity of reconciling oneself to the loss of privileges and functions of authority, as well as the existence of powerful pressure groups extorting individual interests at the expense of state causes, etc. Our point is the economic consequences of "marketizing" the economy—consequences that could elicit strong protests from the entire public or large parts of it, but which the public must understand and to which it must reconcile itself, otherwise the future program for curing the economy will become fiction and its implementation may lead only to disorder.

The point is nothing more than the unavoidable cost of creating a market economy that the public will be forced to bear. The high contracting part—both the government and the opposition—have pretended up to now that they could not see this. That is no issue. The trade unions have done the same. And to all the successive philippics of the OPZZ protesting the socially troublesome effects of successive anti-inflationary moves, the government invariably responded that the population's real income would not be decreased. The opposition did no worse: In its view we are supposed to receive the full benefits of a market economy at no cost. First R. Krawczyk, then E. Skalski, in lengthy planning articles recently published in the Catholic press, show that we need only get our hands on that market and immediately an era of universal happiness and prosperity will arise. The public costs? "Horsefeathers," cries Skalski, and he says that under these new conditions every Pole will earn enough (note!) for housing, a car, something to wear on his back, and "a nice piece of meat." Prof Krawczyk feels that everything can be handled by snatching funds from the defense industry—and there is no problem.

False. It is high time to tell ourselves—and others—that in order to reap the benefits the market economy offers, it is necessary to work diligently for it and pay diligently for it.

The market means the costs of equilibrium and therefore a sudden increase in the prices of many items, including food (except for a few basic products still subsidized by the state). A small Fiat will cost almost as much as its free market price today, e.g., 3.5 million zloty. Televisions and washers will cost as much in the stores as they cost today "from the ads" or including payment of the "surcharge" (currently about 150,000 zloty for a color television)—and toilet paper, currently sold at market for 80 zloty a roll, etc.—because, after all, no one in his right mind can cherish the illusion that marketizing production and trade will generate, over a few months or



even a year, an increase in supply capable of satisfying the market at the level of today's prices. Nor that a simultaneous increase in wages would offer anything besides inflation. In any case, the state will cease determining wages.

Restructuring of industry; bankruptcies of crippled, unprofitable enterprises (it is estimated there are 450 to 600 of these); the abandoning of current gigantic subsidies—indeed, this is a healthy, necessary process, except it also means price increases, temporary unemployment, a decrease in wages for people moving to other plants, occasionally a need to earn new qualifications. And necessary benefits for the unemployed—these are also costs to the public. The reconstruction of the most profitable branches of industry—electronics, pharmaceuticals, etc.—entail enormous costs. Not everything can be handled with foreign capital, and that would not be desirable anyway.

Further, if we have the market, if we have restructuring, then we have them for agriculture—the collapse of scores if not hundreds of sickly, small scale farms that cannot withstand competition.

The banks. If our money is to be saved, if people are to be induced toward thrift, interest rates must increase with the rate of inflation. That is obvious. But after A comes B. An increase in savings interest automatically means a rise in loan interest rates. So, let the several million people who are paying off long-term loans for cooperative apartments every month know that these payments, whose real value has been decreasing headlong up to now compared to the march of inflation, will now increase suddenly, and many times over.

The market. It is unavoidable, especially in the initial period, to have disproportions in earnings—and one cannot complain to the state, because only the enterprise's financial conduct will determine this. It is the unavoidable assumption of a certain part of national assets by private ownership, above all agency shops and service outlets, and not only these; it is the development of the entire private sector—the public will have to adapt to this. It is social services—if not worse than today's, then surely not on a par with needs—for which it will be necessary to wait for the affluence of Poland and its citizens. It is a vision of a better tomorrow but at the price of hard, honest work, which will not, as it does today, seek out the worker. On the contrary.

All this must finally be said aloud to the people. Very few economists or publicists have written about this, and they have not won a hearing. Up to now the government has been silent, afraid of negative public reaction. The opposition has been silent or has told fairy tales, afraid of losing its clientele, especially among the heavy-industry working class; only Stefan Kisielewski has repeated at every opportunity how much and with what it will be necessary to pay for true reform.

It is hard to foresee what our reformed market will ultimately be. But it is certain that we can afford neither procrastination nor halfway measures. If we are deciding on market solutions, then we will have to get moving on them.

#### **Alterations to System Improving Wage Relations Between Enterprises**

*26000112b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
15 Sep 88 p 3*

[Text] An ocean of ink in justifications and appeals has been written about the problem of equalizing wage rates, acknowledging that this is perhaps an overused argument but not a contrived one; the Synthetic Wage Evaluation (SOP) system has been established to improve wage relations between enterprises. It has been in operation for three years and it is estimated that as the occasion arises, taking into account all the hazards of the method of providing funds for compensation to enterprises and its far from regular structure, the SOP is fulfilling its role.

Recently, in accordance with the criteria of the SOP system (Resolution of the Council of Minister of 22 August 1988), in light of an evaluation of the conditions and results of the activity of economic entities last year, additional amounts free of the tax on above-the-norm remunerations were approved. These funds will be received by enterprises where the level of wage decreases surpassed 20 percent against the background of the conditions and results of their activity. Depending on the level of that decrease there will be payments in these entities from 2,500 zloty to 6,000 zloty per employee.

In the aforementioned resolution the minister of labor and social policy was obliged to prepare a list of names of entities who are entitled to these legitimate increases. According to information received from the Ministry of Labor, these lists will soon be sent to parent bodies which will inform the enterprises of the decisions made.

In the name of bringing wages into line and consistency in anti-inflationary actions, conditions whose nonfulfillment will cause a loss of the SOP funds are defined in the new rules. This occurs when the growth of average wages in an enterprise without payments from profits or balance-sheet surpluses in cooperatives surpasses 60 percent, while the tax on the above-the-norm remunerations is 25 percent of the amount of profit to be distributed. The ratio of payment for an increase in productivity cannot be higher than 2.0 calculated per employee.

One can only express the hope that these lists would reach the interested parties as soon as possible.

**Costly Nowa Huta Modernization, 'Sanitization' Efforts**

26000110c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
22 Sep 88 p 5

[Article by Krystyna Forowicz: "What Is To Replace the Steel Works?"]

[Text] "We can close the works and plant trees where it stood but if we do, there will be no steel and therefore no cars, washing machines, refrigerators and a hundred other things." This is how the existence of the Lenin Steel Works in Krakow was justified by Dr Jaclaw Marcinek, a biologist appointed to oversee environmental protection in the Krakow region. "Perhaps we do not have to produce 5.3 million tons of steel. Someone in Poland should finally take the effort to add up the costs and profits and say how much steel we really need. However, before we cut production, our planners and engineers should 'be reborn' and begin to create light open-work structures to replace the old and obsolete heavy forms". Dr Marcinek does have a point.

When one looks at the attractions of computer technology, new systems of automation and other electronic "wonders", the steel industry really does seem to be a dinosaur. Today's steel mills are an environmental burden to cities and communities and ferrous metallurgy is the most intensive branch of industry. On the average, it requires twice as much energy to produce one ton of steel in Poland than it does in other countries of the same level of development as ours and four times as much as in highly industrialized countries. Obsolete technology and run-down machinery in many of our steel mills have made the productivity of the average Polish mill worker 3-5 times lower than that of a worker in a French steel mill.

The forest of chimneys at the Lenin Steel Works emits about 52,000 tons of dust, 27,000 tons of sulfur dioxide, more than 98 tons of fluorine and 390,000 tons of carbon monoxide straight into the atmosphere every year. And that is less than it did in the past.

Enough has already been written about the destructive effects that the works have had on everything that lives, on nature and historical buildings. And the plant itself denies none of the accusations.

In a report on the execution of the law on environmental protection and the modernization program at the Lenin Works that was presented in April of this year to the Sejm Commission on Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources, the director of the Lenin Steel Mills wrote:

"We are taking strong measures. However, we know that we cannot meet the public's expectations. That is why we reanalyzed our modernization program this year in order to find ways to cut emissions enough to give Krakow the

status of a special-protection region, in other words, to cut particulate emissions to less than 10,000 tons per year. The new figures set for the program will also cut SO<sub>2</sub> and NO emissions".

Let us add that this is a very imposing restriction for the Polish steel industry.

**Modernization Tasks**

Nowa Huta's program for reducing its environmental impact is as promising as all other such programs in our country. Nowa Huta's plan is to lower particulate emissions by 86 percent and SO<sub>2</sub> by 70 percent. By-product utilization will increase from 65 to 90 percent. However, such a level of improvement cannot be achieved before 2010. Just why is this going to take 25 years?

"People do not know how complicated such a project is," said J. Marcinek. "What we see aboveground is just the top of a great colossus and what lies beneath it is like another city with networks of cable tunnels with a great confusion of water and gas pipelines. Even Sherlock Holmes would get lost there. It took two years to find someone to take down just one chimney."

The modernization tasks undertaken by Nowa Huta are enormous. The plan calls for modernization of the electrostatic precipitators on boilers 5-7 in the power plant (under government orders set this year), of the scrubbers for the great furnaces, the number two sintering plant and the refractory materials plant and for the construction of multichamber batteries with coke dryslaking. Construction has already been started on the first battery. One new battery will replace two of the old ones and will release 380 fewer tons per year of particulate emissions and 1350 fewer tons of hydrocarbons. Preparation for the construction of the 5th sintering belt is continuing. Once it is finished, sintering plant number one will be shut down.

The technically and technologically obsolete martenite steel plant's days are numbered. The first convector and continuous pouring line will be open in 1996.

Some thought has also been given to construction of a plant for treating slag and making bricks from clinkers and for utilization of dust and ferrous by-products. What this amounts to is universal modernization requiring many millions of zlotys of investment. However, that is what is demanded by the times and the works' unfortunate location.

Nowa Huta's workers also want to live in a healthy environment but it seems that they are the only ones not asking whether Krakow is to be without the Lenin Steel Mills or not.

"My father helped build this plant," recalls Jacek Marcinek. "It is a little like the godchild of the scientists at the Mining and Metallurgy Academy. It was they who designed the equipment and struck environmental technology from the plans because the country then needed a lot of steel at any cost."

Dr Marcinek remembers those times and defends the mill.

#### What They Have Destroyed Let Them Repair

"What technology has destroyed it can repair." That seemingly mindless saying does have profound ecological sense because it is up to the scientists and engineers to improve the biological framework of human life. And it must be admitted that their research work and designs for environmental protection are increasing.

Meanwhile, a concept for revitalizing the old steel mill has been advanced by Ryszard Geyer and Jozef Gega, docents from the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy [AGH]. In general terms, what they have proposed is to eliminate the greatest source of pollution outside of the grounds of the sintering plant. They have also proposed that construction of the new sintering plant (belt 5) called for in the modernization program be stopped and that the area for the construction of the imported material transport be used for an ore preprocessing plant. Nowa Huta has already received an enriched multifurnace charge in the form of metallized nodules in pellet form which are a new development worked out by scientists from AGH. The enriched furnace charge will markedly increase the efficiency of multifurnace processes and make it possible to shut down several furnaces. As the authors of these proposals say, this can considerably reduce the size of the coking plant.

Scientists have also approached the directors with an offer to reanalyze the suitability of the modernization program's plans.

"We do not want to add more cost to the research," says Dr Marcinek, "which represents the directors' position on environmental protection but their concept has many shortcomings. The pellet-forming technology is uneconomical and I really doubt whether any of the voivodes will willingly allow into their very backyards the sort of "stinking fungus" that the sulfur-bearing ore preprocessing plant is.

The last word goes to the experts from the Ministry of Industry: how quickly can the modernization program be realized and are such dinosaurs really something we need?

For the time being, Krakow city officials and Nowa Huta's directors have their hands full of recommendations, reports and complaints. Nowa Huta's production interests are just as much a matter of importance to the entire national economy as recognition of Krakow's priorities.

If we want to preserve Krakow's charm and national wealth, we have to pay the cost for environmental protection. Regardless of whether or not the plant remains standing, that price will be a high one.

#### ROMANIA

**Higher Wages To Improve Standard of Living**  
27000011b Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA  
in Romanian 30 Sep 88 p 7

[Article by Valentina Vasile: "Increase in Incomes an Expression of Improvement in the Standard of Living"]

[Excerpts] In the general strategy of building a comprehensively developed socialist society, to which a decisive contribution has been made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, improvement of the material and cultural standard of living of the entire people represents the supreme goal of the advancement of Romania. In constant pursuit of this aim, especially since the Ninth Congress of the party, several measures have been taken in succession which have led to increases in monetary income earned both under the system of distribution on the basis of work performed and through social consumption.

By applying a policy of progressive periodic increases in wages and in all forms of income, our party and state have applied an original model of distribution, the chief merits of which are based both on close linking of results obtained in production to the amount earned and on conformity to the requirements and principles of socialist ethics and fairness.

It must be emphasized in this context that the current increase in wages and other forms of income, which is based on the resolutions of the 23d Congress and of the Fifth National Conference and on the specific recommendations made by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has been made possible by the good results achieved by the Romanian economy under the provisions of the 1986-90 5-year plan. The application of such measures under the complex conditions of world economic development at the same time demonstrates the vitality of the Romanian economy and the soundness of the general strategy followed by the party.

When the first stage of the current wage increase ends on 1 October, substantially higher wages will be paid to a significant number of workers in industrial units subordinate to the people's councils, the Central Union of



Artisan Cooperatives, and the Central Union of Cooperatives for Production, Purchasing, and Sales, and to those employed in public utilities and housing activities, commodity distribution, education, health care, social welfare, physical culture and athletics, culture and art, financial and insurance institutions, government administration, unions, associations, and other sectors.

More than 2.5 million persons have been affected in this first stage of wage increases, mostly young people in the first years of gainful employment, ones who had earned an average of up to 2,000 lei per month. The fact that the earnings of workers in this wage bracket were the first to be increased demonstrates the constant concern for greater increases in lower wages. Another characteristic of the income distribution principle promoted in Romania, one especially prominent during the first stage, is the especially sharp increase made in wage scales to stabilize and guarantee the real income deriving from labor.

Specific examples of the increases for several sectors, trades, and professions will serve to substantiate some of the characteristics mentioned above. [passage omitted]

The percentage of increase ranges from 20 to 33 percent. [passage omitted]

A teacher trainee, for example, who before the increase earned a wage of 1,920 lei, will receive a monthly increase of 385 lei (about 20 percent more). A kindergarten teacher trainee in her second year of service will receive a higher monthly wage of 2,255 lei (as against 1,865 lei before 1 October). A head nurse who has been in service without interruption for 5 years will receive total monthly wages of 2,323 lei, as against 1,921 lei prior to 1 October. Of the total increase of 402 lei, 300 lei represent a rise in the wage scale.

Reaching and exceeding the higher wage levels depend on full performance of the duties in each sphere of employment. A brief account of figures on two trades, leather goods worker and quality control inspector, will contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between the amount of earnings and completion of work assignments. Comparison of the earnings resulting from the wage increase shows—on the assumption that the plan assignments are all carried out—a total monthly increase of 433 lei for the leather goods worker and of 438 lei for the quality control inspector. Of this amount, 24-25 lei per month are due to the higher length-of-service increase. Exceeding the plan targets will enable the workers to obtain even higher wage increases. Consequently the leather goods worker will receive a monthly wage increase of more than 670 lei, this being equivalent to a rise of approximately 31 percent, if he exceeds the plan targets by 10 percent. The quality control inspector will also receive a raise of around 665 lei per month, or in excess of 35 percent more than the wages previously earned when all plan assignments were carried out. These examples alone demonstrate the

advantages to workers resulting from the increase in earnings and the incentives for them to exert even greater effort in completing and exceeding their plan assignments.

Additionally, as of 1 January 1989, there will also be an increase in the level of the funds established for worker sharing in completion of production and earning of profits and for worker profitsharing, along with an increase in the bonus funds. This increase will be from 2.5-3.0 percent to 3.0-3.5 percent of the planned wage fund. At the same time, workers will continue to receive the government child support allowance, which will increase by 10 lei per month per child whenever parents have received compensation for increases in prices of food products, energy, and fuels, and housing rentals remain unchanged in relation to the new higher wages.

Workers in all sectors of activity are resolved to exert even greater effort to ensure exemplary fulfillment of the plan and thus constantly improve their material and cultural welfare.

#### Contribution of Research in Chemical Industry Reviewed

27000011a Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA  
in Romanian 30 Sep 88 pp 1-2, 14

[Article by Mihail Florescu: "Scientific Research as an Essential Contribution to Development of the Romanian Chemical Industry"]

[Text] Under our party's scientific concept of intensive qualitative development of the Romanian economy and society now and in the future, scientific research and efficient introduction of advanced technologies into production are fundamental to progress. The logical and legal relationship between science and development derives from the very essence of our socialist society. It is based on the dialectic of social development which proves beyond all doubt that the primary historical direction of the development of human society, steady progress by all forces of production, can be achieved at the present time only if a decisive contribution is made by research, by technical and scientific creativity. At the same time, socialism and the revolution in science and technology are inseparable because of the humanist message of the new system, which undertakes to ensure unimpeded access by all the people to the most advanced achievements of the human mind, that is, elevation of the general level of professional culture and training, so that every citizen will be able to make a contribution to the development of knowledge in general and to practical utilization of the discoveries of science and technology. The secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed this idea in the speech he delivered at the mass public meeting in the city of Timisoara at the beginning of the new school year. "We are living through an era of major revolutionary transformations, of ever newer scientific and technical discoveries, and constant broadening of the horizon of human knowledge in all

spheres of activity. For this reason we must state with the greatest possible emphasis that the future of our people, as for that matter the future of any people, will be determined to a decisive extent by the level of education and scientific research."

A practical illustration of the realism and clearheadedness of the scientific policy evolved by our party to encourage the development of national scientific research, especially over the period inaugurated by the Ninth Congress, is provided by the erection of a modern economic structure which assigns an increasingly important role to the sectors which support and generate technical progress. As a matter of fact, the high-technology sectors and subsectors which ensure more efficient utilization of resources, increase the international competitiveness of Romanian products, and constantly and powerfully stimulate the entire national economic complex can be erected only by using the most advanced scientific thought and practices, by constantly infusing innovation and practical application of improved technologies.

Chemistry provides conclusive proof of this dialectical process of sustaining industry by means of original scientific research, a process in which our party has designed original solutions, fully in keeping with the present and future goals that have been set, the requirements of each stage of development, and the national economic potential. A modern and continually developing sector of the economy, chemistry is constantly in the lead in scientific research, making a substantial contribution to meeting the increasingly varied needs of the economy and society.

An event of special significance for all workers in this sector was the Third National Congress of Chemistry, a broad and representative forum which brought together academicians, other scientists, pertinent teachers in higher education, and specialists from integrated and independent chemical enterprises. Scientists, research workers, and chemists representing prestigious scientific and educational institutions in many countries around the world attended.

The proceedings of this recent scientific event followed the guidelines and suggestions presented at the opening of the congress by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, a distinguished scholar and important party and state militant, whose prodigious activities have contributed decisively to the advancement of Romanian chemistry and the enrichment of universal knowledge in this sphere. In doing this, the event achieved a special significance in the development of Romanian chemistry. As Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu pointed out in her address at the opening of the congress, "Proceeding from the current status of Romanian chemistry, its strong equipment and material resources, and the powerful potential of hundreds of thousands of workers, including those engaged in scientific research in chemistry, the National

Congress of Chemistry must impart a new orientation with a broad outlook on modernization and improvement of production and research activities in chemistry, and in doing so must take into account the requirements of the national economy and the most recent achievements of science and technology."

This great forum on Romanian chemistry expressed the will of all workers in this important sphere of activity to do everything to increase the efficiency of the chemical science and industry role in carrying out Romania's plans and programs for economic and social development and for the ongoing improvement of the material and spiritual development of the entire people and in implementing the resolutions and reaching the goals set by the 13th National Congress of the Party. At the same time, it affirmed once again the resolution to strengthen cooperation at the international level, to do everything to have science exclusively serve the progress and welfare of all mankind.

The development of the Romanian chemical industry, which today is well known throughout the world, has been especially vigorous in the period since the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. It is a result of the patriotic revolutionary thought and of the clearheadedness and foresight of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who has assigned priority to organic linking of this sector to the other sectors of the economy. This determines and ensures all-around development of our country. Unified coordination of scientific and technological research in chemistry has been accomplished in accordance with the concept and the direct contribution of Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, through establishment in 1970 of the Central Institute of Chemistry, which since 1973 has also included research and development institutes in chemistry. The underlying principle of its organization has proven its efficiency and has been extended to all sectors of the national economy.

With the direct and permanent contribution made by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister and chairwoman of the National Committee for Science and Technology, the organizational structure in the sector of chemistry has been constantly improved, through the establishment and strengthening of institutes, sections, and laboratories in major industrial areas and centers, sections, and laboratories, whose staff members include industrial specialists involved in design and planning. Coordination has also extended to research in chemistry conducted by teachers in higher education, this activity being organized through integration with specialized institutes.

The Central Institute of Chemistry is made up of 23 research, technological engineering, design, and production units with their whole range of specialties. Because of their experience, they represent a powerful research and development resource in the sphere of chemistry. An

exceptionally important contribution has been made by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu to substantiation, elaboration, and implementation of national programs for scientific research and technological development and to coordination of all research activities, in which she consistently promotes the guidelines laid down in the party program and the documents of the 13th Congress and the national 13th Party congress.

The achievements of the staffs of the Central Institute of Chemistry represent an important contribution to development of the Romanian chemical and petrochemical industries and to enrichment of Romania's scientific heritage. The Central Institute of Chemistry research program primarily studies problems arising from the special programs coordinated by the National Committee for Science and Technology. These programs are concerned with provision of the products needed specifically in chemistry and for mechanical engineering, aeronautics, electronics and microelectronics, nuclear energy, new sources of raw materials, utilization of byproducts, and the entire array of problems connected with establishment of technologies and processes necessary to develop the production capacities of the Ministry of the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry.

As a result of the effort made by researchers of the Central Institute of Chemistry, the percentage of goals reached on the basis of original planning and development rose from 30 percent over the 1970-75 period to about 80-82 percent over the 1976-80 period, and has reached 95 percent during the current 5-year plan period. This figure is expected to come near 100 percent during the next 5-year-plan period. As a result of utilization and promotion of original research and development, industrial facilities have been completed abroad, such as the Baniyas refinery in Syria, the Zarqa in Jordan, and the Anatolia refinery in Turkey, the TSP sulfuric acid and phosphoric acid complex at Homs in Syria, an acrylic fiber factory in the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and others. Romanian chemical research has offered many original technologies to Romanian industry. Many of these technologies have been patented both in Romania and abroad. A representative example is the technology for production of synthetic elastomers. Development of the production and the product mix of synthetic elastomers in Romania is based on the direct contribution made, as a world-renowned scientist, by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, who has developed competitive and highly valued technologies through her own research activity and by guiding the research community. This has made it possible to develop one of the most important areas of chemical products needed by the national economy, technologies for polyisoprene and thermoplastic elastomers, terpolymers, and cis-1,4-polybutadiene, butadiene styrene, and butadiene acrylonitrile elastomers. Other important developments include production of polymers with special properties such as polymethacrylate methyl polymers, epoxy resins, including halogenated ones, and

alkyd resins; methods for processing plastics and elastomers, for obtaining many industrial items and a wide variety of consumer goods, especially in the area of polyvinyl chloride, polystyrene, polycarbonates, polyethylene, and polypropylene; technologies for synthesis of high-tonnage intermediate products, in modern, competitive, and high-quality alternative technologies, such as the process for synthesis of ethyl benzene, the process and catalyst for manufacture of high-purity styrene, derivation of adipinic acid from cyclohexane, and processes for synthesis of aliphatic and aromatic amines; processes for synthesis of monomers and polymers used in manufacture of chemical fibers and creation of an original synthetic and artificial fiber industry; technologies for drugs used in human and veterinary medicine obtained by synthesis, biosynthesis, or utilization of medicinal plants and waste from such plants, including intermediate products; creation of a Romanian organic dyestuff and pigment industry largely meeting domestic needs and supplying products for export, including a wide range of intermediate products; derivation of detergents of the aryl-alkyl-sulfonic type and nonionic polyethoxylates, auxiliary substances for the textile and leather goods industries based on acyclic acid and its esters, and auxiliary substances for processing of elastomers and plastics (reticulation agents, antidegradants, and ultraviolet protection agents); technologies for a wide range of high-purity chemical reagents (of the MOS and EG types), including those for the photographic industry; synthesis of nonconventional insecticides (pheromones), organophosphorus and thiocarbonic insecticides, herbicides, and fungicides, including specific intermediate products; a process for hydrofining of oils, increase in the extent of utilization raw materials and replacement of conventional refining processes leading to the manufacture of clearly superior products while eliminating acid tars; a process for hydrotreatment of oils leading to the production of motor oils possessing superior properties; production of a wide range of catalysts for the chemical and petrochemical industries, including processes for recovery of useful elements from spent catalysts; technologies for production of fertilizers by nitric attack of phosphate rocks, selenium salts, and manganese, special alloys, and powdered metals and inorganic pigments; processes for manufacture of high-purity products, semiconductors, and substances possessing special properties for electronics and microelectronics; manufacture of electrodes with stable dimensions and reactivation of electrodes for electrolysis of alkaline chlorides; potassium ferricyanide and potassium permanganate by electrochemical synthesis, as well as adiponitrile by electrohydrodimerization of acrylonitrile and persulfates; and a process and catalyst for manufacture of olefines and aromatics by conversion of methanol. All these processes will ensure a high rate of development of subsectors of the chemical industry.

In the synthetic rubber industry production will be increased by a factor of 1.4 to 1.6 over the 5-year-plan period, through extension of the manufacture of polyisoprene and butadiene rubber, latexes, and new varieties



of butyl and nitrile rubber. At the end of the 5-year-plan, about 60 percent of rubber output will be processed in automotive tires and a wide range of industrial articles. Quantitative development of the manufacture of Romanian synthetic rubber has been accompanied by constant improvement in quality and broad diversification of types and items. In the area of artificial fertilizers, a suitable balance will be struck among fertilizers based on nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium, in keeping with the needs of agriculture. Production of pesticides will increase by a factor of 1.4 to 1.6 over the 5-year-plan period, with production of new varieties marked by greater efficiency and lower persistence.

There will be more vigorous development of the inorganic chemical industry based on more efficient utilization of internal resources. For example, the production of sulfuric acid is expected to increase by a factor of 1.5, that of ammonium chloride by a factor of 2, and the manufacture of sodium sulfate by a factor of 2.1. The industry will organize the production of titanium white, nickel and cobalt salts, and potassium salts.

The production of drugs for human use will increase by a factor of 2 to 2.2 over the 5-year-plan period, as a result of commencement of manufacture of products of high therapeutic efficiency and broad spectrum of action. The output of organic dyes and pigments will increase by a factor of 1.6 to 1.8 over the 5-year-plan period as a whole, with the manufacture of high-value varieties increased by approximately 40 percent to meet domestic needs. The production of paints and varnishes will grow by a factor of 1.8 to 2, as a result of manufacture of new biodegradable varieties designed to rinse off at low temperatures. Greater emphasis will also be placed on manufacture of cosmetics and perfumes; their output will increase by a factor of 2.4 to 2.6 over the 5-year-plan period, with a wider range of high-quality items.

In the cellulose industry the entire increase in production will be achieved with chemical cellulose, to provide for the manufacture of artificial fibers and yarn. The utilization of raw materials will also be increased, to ensure more pronounced growth of industrial and special paper and cardboard. Raw ore materials will be used more efficiently in the nonferrous metallurgy industry, to increase the production of copper, lead, and zinc. Since aluminum is a heavy consumer of energy, its production will be kept at the level of the current capacities, with emphasis placed on increasing the processing of rolled and extruded products.

The plastics and synthetic resins industry was insignificant in the past. Only 40 tons were processed in 1950, and 75,900 tons were produced in 1965, but development at an extremely fast pace led to the production of 627.9 million tons in 1985. These products are used in industrial applications, in the area of consumer goods in mechanical engineering, while synthetic resins are used

in the paint and varnish industry, in which broad diversification has been accomplished, and, of course, vegetable oils and animal fats have been used to meet constantly growing needs which could not be satisfied with natural resources.

In the chemical fiber sector, in which Romanian research has also made significant contributions, mention may be made of the polyamide fiber facilities at Savinesti and the high-contraction polyester fiber plant at CFS Iasi, along with the polyacrylonitrile fiber plants at Savinesti and elsewhere, all of which have been built on the basis of modern Romanian processes, with broad and complete diversification of varieties for clothing and industrial purposes.

As a result of the highly competent scientific management and the constant guidance provided by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, the Central Institute of Chemistry strives constantly to improve activities, so as to better cope with the demands of the priority programs for development of nuclear power engineering, the aviation industry, electrical engineering, and electronics and microelectronics, for working of domestic deposits with a low content of useful minerals, reducing consumption of energy and materials, improving the quality of products, and increasing labor productivity.

These efforts aim primarily at improving research methodology through careful selection of research topics, elaboration of programs, and conduct of pilot laboratory research and industrial testing, to the point of application of the results of research in production; at modernizing research techniques by increasing the degree of outfitting with modern apparatus; at reducing time involved in the research-to-production cycle, ensuring close cooperation among research worker, designer, and customer in all stages of development of a technology, cooperation with production, and cooperation between fields of research; at improving the efficiency of research and obtaining the highest possible results from the funds spent, along with a relative decrease in research expenditures through utilization of multipurpose and production facilities; at ensuring that technological solutions will be original in nature and internationally competitive, as a result of technical and economic indicators and higher quality; and at better utilization of the raw materials available to Romania.

The draft scientific research plan for the 1986-90 period includes broad and varied topics, embodied in more than 2,000 research projects. The draft plan took into account the guidelines laid down by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, chairwoman of the National Committee for Science and Technology, for speeding up application of research results, above all those obtained under priority programs; for selection of research projects based on their importance and economic efficiency; for vigorous development of synthesis in precision chemistry, intermediate products for the

drug, dyestuff, cosmetic, and high-purity chemical industry for leading-edge production in electronics and microelectronics, the automotive and aviation industries and precision mechanics, biotechnology, and genetic engineering, along with products for upgrading textiles and leather goods, photographic and moving picture film, and other products; for modernization of production technologies and development of new technologies that consume less energy and materials; for assignment of priority to research to increase productivity and quality; for quicker utilization of processes for recovery of various resources, by-products, and waste products; for development of chemical processing of methane to obtain superior hydrocarbons and high-value organic products; and for closer cooperation among fields of research.

The sustained assistance which the Central Institute of Chemistry receives from the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the National Committee for Science and Technology, along with the cooperation with the specialized industrial centrals, has enabled the application of research results in production and the carrying out of research programs at the faster pace demanded by vigorous economic and social development of our country.

The Third National Congress of Chemistry, an outstanding event of the Romanian chemical sciences and industry, spurred the formulation of scientific and technical measures and solutions designed to ensure that chemistry, as a science and industry, will make a greater contribution to comprehensive utilization of the natural resources of the country, creation of new materials and products possessing superior characteristics, and development and introduction of modern technologies leading to substantial lowering of consumption and to improvement in the quality of production, labor productivity, and economic efficiency. Because of their innovative properties and value, the excellent scientific and technological papers presented at the congress of scientists and specialists of Romania and foreign countries will represent an important source for enrichment of scientific and technological research programs and for experimentation and scientific application in critical areas of modern chemistry, petrochemistry, and biochemistry.

Giving expression to sentiments of profound affection, high regard and gratitude, and great esteem for the constant support given to science, technology, and education, the telegram addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party and president of the Republic, by the Third National Congress of Chemistry states: "Dear comrade secretary general of the party and president of the Republic, we pledge ourselves to keep chemistry in the vanguard of the promoters of original Romanian technical and scientific planning and development. As a result of the accomplishments achieved and the high prestige enjoyed by the scientific work of Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, Romanian chemistry fully justifies the

inspiring appeal which you made to the entire intelligentsia of the country in the years of the historic Ninth Congress of the party to make science a true production force."

Receiving as it does the benefit of guidance of a highly scientific character and being given material and human support, chemical research has all the resources it needs to constantly increase its contribution to the development of the sector and the entire national economy, in accordance with the goals and programs established, and to make itself a more vigorous element among the forces of economic and social progress in socialist Romania.

**Development of Machine-Tool Industry Examined**  
27000007 Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA  
in Romanian 12 Aug 88 pp 12-13

[Article by Dan Sava: "Product Research's Contribution to Marketing Success"]

[Excerpts] The machine-tool industry in our country has been deeply involved in the broad process of industrializing our national economy and, in this stage, in the modernization of the production processes in industry. In view of its role and place in the development of national industry, the machine-tool industry has benefited from rates of growth higher than the average in the industrial branch to which it belongs. Thus, while the physical output of machine tools in 1965 was approximately 13,000 tons of finished products, it was 6.3 times higher 20 years later. The qualitative leap during the same period was reflected in the growth of the value of production; in 1986, the value of production was 31 times higher than in 1965 as a result of the qualitative changes that occurred in the structure of production and in the technical and qualitative level of the products.

The fact that the rate of growth of the value of production exceeded the rate of growth of the physical output reflects the development of production from a qualitative viewpoint, the much better utilization of the raw materials, supplies, and labor included in the products made. The fact that the value of the production connected with a ton of finished product is five times higher in this stage than in 1965 is illustrative for underscoring the contribution of the CS-IT [scientific research and technological engineering] activity at the Scientific Research and Technological Engineering Institute for Machine Tools (ICSITMU) to the development of machine-tool production in our country. The institute's contribution can also be underscored by the fact that Romania now occupies 16th place among the world producers of machine tools, ahead of countries with an older tradition than ours, such as Sweden, Austria, Canada, Holland, and others, and, from a qualitative viewpoint, by the fact that the average specific price of exported Romanian machine tools was higher than that obtained by other industrially developed countries, such as the USSR, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and others (for example, in 1985, the average specific price—

lira per kg—for Romanian machine tools on Italy's market was 1.6 percent higher than that obtained for products from the GDR, 27 percent higher than for those from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, 48 percent higher than for those from the Polish People's Republic, etc.).

For more than 2 decades, ICSITMU, founded in 1966 through the amalgamation of scientific-research and design nuclei coming from enterprises that had accumulated experience in machine-tool production, has provided the impetus for the development of machine-tool manufacture in our country.

As an overview of machine-tool manufacture, the following three stages can be distinguished after 1966:

- The period up to 1975, when, in particular, universal machine tools that were produced in big series were assimilated into manufacture
- The 1976-80 period, marked by the transition to manufacturing heavy and very heavy machine tools that were produced as one-of-a-kind or in small series and by the modernization of the machine tools assimilated in the previous period; the list of products began to diversify substantially
- The period after 1980, in which we proceeded to assimilate into manufacture special and dedicated machine tools, ones equipped with numerical controls, processing centers, automatic lines, and flexible cells and systems—extremely complex products with a high and very high technical level, of high precision and productivity, and with high values, which are made as one-of-a-kind or in very small series.

The last period is characterized by the machine-tool industry's considerably increased efforts to assimilate new types of machine tools, to shorten the assimilation time, and to diversify and expand the list of products at the disposal of domestic and foreign customers. As an example of this effort, while 187 prototype dimensions of universal machine tools, of which only 10 percent had numerical control, were assimilated into manufacture in 1981, the volume of assimilations was 2 times higher in 1987 and the percentage of machine tools with numerical control exceeded 15 percent of the total assimilated.

Through the orientation of the CS-IT activity and the contribution to diversifying the list of prototype dimensions of machine tools in order to better meet the needs and requirements of the users, the ICSITMU has been deeply involved in increasing the foreign trade in machine tools.

We will dwell below on some elements of a qualitative nature regarding our supply for exportation. It is clear that those who do the constructive and functional design work affect the volume of sales mainly by adapting the products to the requirements of the customers. Since

1981, the foreign market for machine tools has been influenced by the economic recession and by some specific aspects that can be summarized as follows:

- The developed capitalist countries have shown interest especially in complex, highly productive machine tools, machine tools with NC [numerical control] and CNC [computerized numerical control], processing centers, specialized and dedicated machine tools, and flexible processing cells and systems—that is, in equipment that modernizes and streamlines the production processes and that is meant particularly to replace general-purpose machine tools.
- The developing countries have shown very dissimilar interests, depending on a number of individual factors, such as the ability to pay, the size and quality of the work force, the policy in the field of the development of industry, etc. The so-called suitable technologies vary in requirements from simple, sturdy, cheap machine tools, which can be bought on easy terms, (the majority of the needs) to very complex and expensive machine tools.
- The socialist countries meet their needs largely through their own national effort; at the same time, they have specialized their production within CEMA and have concluded long-term agreements for reciprocal deliveries.

These specific aspects of the requirements of the different market segments were the basis for the following activities through which the ICSITMU has directed its effort:

- The research in as much detail as possible of the requirements of the different markets and the emerging trends in the manufacturing of the main industrial producers, through good technical documentation in patents and company brochures;
- The forecasting of the developments of science and production for the machine-tool field and related fields up to the year 2000;
- The preparation and periodic updating of the special program for the development of machine-tool production;
- The preparation and periodic updating of both the system of machine tools and of the national program for flexible production cells and systems.

These actions have created conditions for the further development of machine-tool manufacture, so that production may more closely respond to the requirements of domestic and foreign customers.

The coordinates of development in the next stage involve:

- a) The greater expansion and diversification of the list of prototype dimensions of machine tools, with an increased percentage of products that favor exportation-  
[passage omitted]



Through the higher rates of growth for universal machine tools with NC and CNC, special machine tools, and flexible manufacturing cells and systems, the structure of production will be changed, increasing the percentage of products in demand for exportation.

b) The further growth of the technical and qualitative level of the products made.

Last year, the prototype dimensions of machine tools of an average level represented about 14 percent of the total under manufacture, the rest being above the average level, but it is expected that the percentage of those of an average level will drop to approximately 4 percent by the end of this 5-year period. A rigorous system of quality control and of tracking the behavior of the machine tools in operation will raise the reliability of the components used and substantially improve the quality of the final products. The steps taken have reduced complaints by 50 percent from 1986 to 1987.

c) Our country's further specialization within CEMA as provider of a complex list of types of machine tools, a situation that will facilitate the exchange of material values with the other CEMA-member socialist countries.

At present, our machine-tool industry specializes in the manufacture of 35.5 percent of the types of universal, automatic, and special machine tools and of manufacturing lines on the CEMA countries' list, giving us the highest percentage after the USSR.

Through the institute actions, the importation of machine tools for convertible currency has been rationalized through the assimilation of the types that were once imported. In the last period, acting to reduce machine-tool imports and eliminate importation for convertible currency while raising exportation, the institute spent approximately 75 percent of its CS-IT expenditures and its working capacity to increase the foreign trade in machine tools.

At the start of the last 5-year period, about 50 percent of the capacity was used for the same categories of activities. The figures indicate synthetically the ICSITMU's high involvement in increasing the contribution of the subbranch of the machine-tool industry to our country's foreign trade in these products.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Reform Essential To Remedy Housing Crisis

28000016 Zagreb *DANAS* in Serbo-Croatian  
27 Sep 88 pp 20-21

[Article by Gojko Bezovan: "An Apartment as a Privilege"]

[Text] "A decent apartment is not just half of life, but all of it. No matter how much individualism in all of its manifestations is progressively suppressed, the apartment nevertheless remains as the most fundamental

foundation of human life. The time that we spend outside the house is mostly spent in hard work of some kind, while rest, both mental and physical, peace and quiet, a spiritual oasis in this soulless desert of human struggle, is offered only by the apartment, as it ought to be in accordance with a human right and as it ought to belong to every member of the human community." These words by Slobodan Vidakovic, written in 1935 in his book "The Housing Problem As a Source of Social Degeneration," currently sound like and could naturally serve as a message in connection with 3 November, the World Housing Day.

According to the 1981 census, Yugoslavia had a shortage of 638,000 apartments, and Croatia had a shortage of 144,000. Most of this deficit occurs in urban developments, while the housing shortage in the capitals of the republics and provinces amounted to 155,391 apartments. Since housing construction has declined during this decade, with a tendency to halt completely, the prospects for providing better for the population are very poor. It is difficult for members of all professions to get a roof over their heads: university teachers, air traffic controllers, policemen, doctors, engineers, urban transportation drivers, etc. Those who have the hardest time getting an apartment, however, are young people, and that, as research has shown, has a significant effect upon the birth rate here as well. If we put this fact in the context of demographers' warnings that the most biologically reproductive part of the population in Croatia has settled in large cities, where the housing shortage is greatest, then the prospects for maintaining the current birth rate in Croatia are seriously jeopardized.

### Robbing the Citizens

Another aspect of the housing crisis is qualitative in nature, and has to do with apartments that do not meet even the basic needs of households. They are dark, damp, and shabby apartments. The thresholds for meeting housing needs are rather modest in our country, in comparison with the developed countries. Consequently, there are several methodological difficulties in determining the shortage of apartments. According to fairly modest criteria, that shortage of apartments is about 400,000 in Croatia, and about 1,800,000 in Yugoslavia.

Also contributing to the qualitative housing shortage is, of course, the fact that the housing inventory in Croatia, as in Yugoslavia, is dominated by apartments with a small number of rooms and little living space—63 percent of the housing inventory consists of individual rooms, 1-room and 2-room apartments. The problem of the overpopulation of apartments is associated with this. In Croatia, 817,000 inhabitants live in housing below the pathological threshold—less than 10 square meters per person—and in Yugoslavia, more than a million.

The inequality in the provision of housing for the population cannot be unambiguously defined. The fact

that the inequities arising from the distribution of apartments and credits do not mostly result from industriousness is a complex one, and, in order to understand it better, we will try to analyze it.

Those employed in the wealthier work organizations, and especially those who have more influential positions in the distribution of labor, have done better in the distribution of publicly owned apartments. Rent does not constitute any particular burden within the structure of consumption for these households. According to the statistical data, those employed in sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations are in the most favorable position with respect to the allocation of publicly owned apartments. Their proportion in the number of workers living in publicly owned apartments is more than double their proportion in the total number of workers. The influence and interests of those with the right to an apartment have naturally contributed significantly to uneconomic rents. Because of the low prices for communal services and "social" rents, part of the demand by the privileged ones, who are capable of paying, acts in the free market as a significant factor in inflation.

The policy of the distribution of rather large housing credits at low interest and for long terms has meant that citizens are stealing from each other. Those who have done best in this distribution have been the more influential citizens who also sought loans for purchasing land, building weekend cottages, buying automobiles, etc. The extent of the repayment of these loans today is merely symbolic. It is interesting that with the boom in this kind of "financing," there have been no public warnings, even in the professional literature, that this amounts to a transfer of accumulated capital into private pockets. The taxation of property acquired in this manner (in 1981 there were 335,000 weekend cottages in Yugoslavia, and 114,000 in Croatia) is apparently still not being considered. The blocking of the Law on the Taxation of Weekend Cottages while it was going through the Croatian Assembly is linked to the private interests of the most influential citizens.

A particular example of social inequity, where privileges are legalized, is the nomenclature given in the "Decision on Meeting the Housing Needs of Republic Officials" (NARODNE NOVINE 24/66). Beyond the fact that the constitutionality of that decision may be challenged, it would mean an insight for the public into the distribution of apartments and credits from that fund during the past few years. Furthermore, there is no adequate inventory of the apartments covered by that fund, and it is not known who lives in them, whether they are efficiently used, etc.

### Equality

After the war, the most attractive urban areas were settled, on the basis of privileges and services, by a population that is economically inactive today and is far

from paying an economic price for housing. Public appropriation of the rent cannot even be considered. The apartments are passed on to grandchildren or even leased. There are also a significant number of publicly owned apartments, for example in Zagreb, with areas of over 150 square meters, where single individuals live.

It is interesting to note that the countries that call themselves socialist, including Yugoslavia, constantly stress in their "programs" for housing policy the principle of equality in the provision of housing, while the developed countries stress the goal of raising the standard of living and eliminating substandard forms of housing. The previously stressed principle of equality in our society with respect to the provision of housing has led to inequality, with class characteristics. We have already shown one side of that inequality, although admittedly in general terms. What is on the other side?

Some workers of migrant origin, with low skills, cannot legally get a roof over their heads in the large cities. They do not have any land to build on or a construction permit, and they do not have the credit to purchase an apartment, so they are thus unable to use the money from the fund for collective expenditure that is deducted from their income. Workers with such skills usually do not get publicly owned apartments. Therefore, only a few workers have the right to benefit from money from the housing fund. Others, according to the law, are legally unqualified. The former illegal builders came from these groups. Since illegal building has been suppressed to a considerable extent, they are left with nothing to do but break into empty apartments to live. Illegally moving into someone else's apartment is a criminal act, and class origin is legalized by court verdicts. On the other hand, no one is concerned about illegal subleasing arrangements. In Yugoslavia in 1981, there were 386,000 subleasing households. The forms of subleasing arrangements in our society are classic examples of exploitation. Certainly, as long as our society does not introduce control over the market for sublet housing, we cannot expect to enter the circle of civilized states.

Housing conditions influence the psychological development of children. Doesn't this division ensure the stable perpetuation of the urban poor?

Yugoslavia is among the few European countries which do not control the minimum living space and hygienic conditions for the housing of their citizens. Researchers on housing in our urban areas are aware that even in the very centers of the cities, there are real slums—unsanitary inhabited attics, basements, sheds, etc. Such housing conditions promote the spread of contagious diseases. Unplanned settlements, which are unjustifiably called wildcat settlements, are a particular problem. Previously we said that these settlements were mostly built out of necessity. In Zagreb, we recently witnessed a justified protest by the builders of these settlements. The republic

inspectors are obviously more interested in consistent application of the law in settlements in the Zagreb opstina of Peacenic than in weekend cottages on the Adriatic coast.

Since a registry of real estate—houses, apartments, and land—is not kept in Yugoslavia, it is almost impossible to speak reliably about the dimensions of the inequality among citizens. If we applied the Law on Nationalization, however, which is still in effect, and according to which a household can have three smaller or two larger apartments, many citizens would be left without significant real estate.

### Crime

Housing is an area full of contradictory interests, and is therefore unusually full of conflict. In some areas, an apartment at work organizations cannot be allocated without a court verdict. On the other hand, this area is certainly one of the foremost as far as corruption and crime are concerned.

The research reports on this field were neglected and suppressed for a long time. Obviously, some people in power were afraid that their privileges might be uncovered and that the public might become aware of them. These problems are still discussed superficially and uncritically, and slogans like "housing policy should be democratized," "the decline in housing construction must be stopped," etc., dominate these discussions. It sounds ironic that the Federal Executive Council (FEC) member who heads the commission on housing reform never dealt with the housing problem before coming to the FEC.

Faced with the unemployment of builders and the decline in the number of newly built apartments, in 1986 the FEC almost directly undertook the action of building 30,000 apartments for the market (6,600 apartments were to be built in Croatia). These apartments were supposed to be built and turned over for use by 30 May 1988. Several meetings and agreements took place in republics, provinces, opstinas, SIZs [self-managing interest communities], etc., a great deal of time was spent, and laws were changed, but nothing came of this action.

Soon the FEC, forgetting this action, will initiate a housing reform, which is actually an implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program for the housing and communal economy.

The principle that "all working people and citizens can resolve their housing situation at a given time on an equal basis and under approximately the same conditions, with different methods of resolving the housing situation..." is again among the goals that are to be achieved. Other important goals are the introduction of economic relationships in this field, shifting the burden of financing from the public sector to the private sector.

One thing is obvious: the creators of this reform probably did not read the text of any housing reform in the developed countries. It could have been seen from that that in such situations one aims at more adequate utilization of the existing housing. First of all comes control over the leasing of apartments. This is the first step, which in our situation would considerably improve the provision of housing for the population. In order to carry out this action in our country, it would be necessary to perform a very basic matter of civilization, without which a state cannot conduct a housing policy—an inventory of housing and its recording in land registries.

The reform fails to distinguish social from economic aspects of housing policy. In the reform, what is economic and what is social in housing policy is not being seen. In the developed countries, housing policy is a part of social policy; an attempt is made to eliminate rentierism and each household is encouraged to get its own apartment. Apartments for rent are also in a crisis in such countries as the United States, Canada, and Australia, and have almost completely disappeared in Denmark and the Netherlands. It is really not clear why the FEC is encouraging rentierism in housing; more profitable investment opportunities should be provided for the citizens who have more money.

### Reforms

The introduction of economic rents for all those who have a right to an apartment, with subsidies, is being optimistically proposed. Allegedly defending the position of the working class, the most influential individuals with apartment rights will probably challenge this intention. Instead of that, a property threshold should be set up to force prosperous households to pay an economic rent or to purchase the apartment. Households which fall below that threshold would pay a social rent, without the current administrative practice that is called subsidizing.

The existing housing is rapidly disappearing, the new housing construction is of poor quality, and it is quite uncertain how it will be possible to live in such apartments in 20 years or so. The reform does not offer a reliable course of action for this problem.

Research in the developed countries shows that in periods of economic crisis, housing construction declines more significantly than production in other sectors. In such circumstances, the initiative of the citizens, supported by the state in various ways, is fully manifested. The housing cooperative has been confirmed to be a suitable organizational form for building apartments in such cases.



An excessively unwieldy construction work force gives the FEC a major problem in this area. Furthermore, for instance, more than 80 percent of the funds for the work of the construction force in Croatia has been written off. This work force should be reorganized and considerably reduced, to make it capable of adapting to a different approach to housing construction.

In comparison with other European states, Yugoslavia has almost the lowest standard of housing. The prospects that a housing reform conceived in such a restrictive manner, at a time of economic crisis, will lead to raising the standard and eliminating substandard means of housing, are rather modest.

## BULGARIA

### Head of Varna Women's Organization Interviewed on Social Issues

22000007 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian  
8 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Interview with Elena Patronova, chairwoman of the Obshtina Council for the Movement of Bulgarian Women in Varna and deputy chairwoman of the Obshtina Committee of the Fatherland Front, by Romyana Bratovanova: "Gratis Work of the Heart"]

[Text] This woman is far from our notion of the noisy mass worker who leads the majority with cheap enthusiasm. I remember as she listened to me and to others about the changes occurring in our lives. What direction will they assume and how will they touch that enormous audience, one-half of our nation, the women of Bulgaria? She was a teacher and the exactingness inherent to her profession has left an imprint on the nature of her relations with others. But the brunt of her strictness is aimed at herself and at those who are closest to her heart and of whom she is fondest. Elena Patronova arrived after the workday, travelling to the town of Tolbukhin, where the council of chairwomen (Varna, Shumen and Tolbukhin) had prepared a range of emergency questions which should be resolved by the oblast and obshtina leaders. The first of these was maternal and infant health which provides the basis for human well-being both in private life and on the job.

[Question] Has there been a slide backwards in Varna Oblast? Statistics for the nation have shown a rise in infant mortality.

[Answer] There has been no slide but also there has not been any particular progress over what was achieved in the 1970's. The questions of labor safety and short-termed illnesses are being resolved slowly. There are some striking facts in Varna. Pregnant women are not being placed in jobs. Either there is no job or there is shortsightedness. At times, an unemployed female worker is given 9 months of leave in order to have her child. Another woman is paid for her place. When there are no job opportunities for the mother, this is an expensive pregnancy. There are also enormous losses from the illnesses of children in the nurseries and infant day care because they are not made hardier there and the natural immunity of the organism is reduced. In 1986, the sick lists were over 100,000 workdays just for infants.

[Question] What are the opportunities for the Women's Movement to influence such complicated processes which involve both the individual person and various spheres of industry and social development in the oblast?

[Answer] As a movement we have opportunities only if people from various levels and spheres of society show concern for women and the family as their own. It is a

bad thing that our leaders more frequently review the plans and not the people. In spite of this, we have been achieving successes with great steadiness. But they are not won by war.

[Question] Recently, frequent mention has been made of the lag in social practices, for example, in solving the housing question among the young as the loans and privileges have remained on paper because there is no capacity in the construction industry or a readiness on the part of the councils.

[Answer] Fifteen years ago, the decision was published of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee (March 1973) for raising the role of women. The December program has played an enormous role, and it remains our decisive step. We expect to return to the ideas and spirit of this decision because they are not obsolete. The programs themselves were in effect up to 1986 in several okrugs and they must now be brought up to date. In them many of the questions have been posed concretely.

[Question] And women and the family assumed all that was not done.... Probably the impression that the movement had a more categoric social role in the 1970's was created by the fact that at that time a decisive step was being taken to aid the mother and wife. At present, things are less noticeable but more difficult. For example, the questions of female employment.... Is it possible that the movement today with such a complex structure and organization of the institutions in modern society to actually influence the social processes? When we bear in mind that this draws on the energy of a mass organization such as the Fatherland Front, are you satisfied with the capabilities which it as well as the other social organizations provide in order to turn the decisions into practice?

[Answer] At present, the chairwomen of the obshtina councils in the movement are influential figures holding leading positions in the party or the council. For us their activities are a social assignment. Also important is that in the leadership of the Fatherland Front organizations are young people with strong social positions.

[Question] But is all of that enough?

[Answer] No. But this is the nature of our movement. We are at the "grace and favor" of the directors and officials on the councils. That is, those who do not always heed us and who do not appreciate what a force we are: a movement of one-half of the nation without restriction either by age or party affiliation.

[Question] And are the activists active?

[Answer] We work in the same circles. There are from 20 to 30 to 70 women in the aktiv group. The others fill out the ranks. We endeavor to be of varied social composition from scientists to workers, but with such representation we have at times overlooked some who could have

been most useful. For this reason now we have decided to return to an old form with four special-problem commissions drawing up our plans with the persons in charge being those who can carry out the task and have proposed it. We have no need for plans which merely fill out our documents. I feel that the movement must more directly use science in studying processes in reality. We have fallen behind life and do not know everything about it.

[Question] I have always wondered whether a modern woman with great erudition and vivacity would take an interest in your measures....

[Answer] A very interesting and difficult question. More and more we must give thought to professionalism in social work. It has also been beneficial to involve a number of men on our commissions. What a woman 50-70 years old may want to hear is not of interest to the youth. Years previously the favored meetings were with cooks, seamstresses or better domestic life. At present, there are greater demands on cultural activities. Without poetry and music a woman is not a woman. For this reason the future is for us to work for and with the interests of people. The most important thing is for us to attack not only the mind but also the heart.

[Question] I have high regard for the fact that the movement has been able to avoid militant feminism. But certain problems with indoctrination and morality of modern man, the low birthrate, being single and divorces have brought about a reaction in public opinion and evermore frequently voices are heard that the woman should return home. This is the first, so to speak, primitive stereotype. But there also are quite a few voices from the "other camp." Why does the woman, even if by law and education she is the equal of man, rarely reach leadership positions in the management of the country or in the public or economic organizations? What is your opinion on these two questions?

[Answer] There must not be any movement backwards. These are the socialist positions and we must not retreat from them. There is the other question that the relative participation of the woman in social production has already reached its maximum. We must not stop here but rather change this participation in content. For this reason, the woman has not fulfilled herself sufficiently along the vertical, that is, in management.

[Question] But whose fault is this?...

[Answer] The Bulgarian woman has great opportunities both creatively, individually and as a mother. But she must be helped with diligence so that she can fulfill herself as a woman. Many have still not achieved this as well as in her indispensable function of maternity.

[Question] In meeting with readers on the issues of the SBZh [Union of Bulgarian Women], we were asked whether the family will be restructured and just how? We were unable to persuade people with the explanation that it is difficult to change the family.

[Answer] I feel that there are things to change in it. The family is the territory in which individuals are created. And each member of the family works....

It is essential to improve the working conditions and require that trade and services more actively help the family. The blank spots in our social policy have been created by inertia. By the fact that man and the family have been put in the background behind production. I do not know an economic leader who begins a certain activity with demographic information at hand. Such data are available but they are not used. And how can anyone manage a social or economic process without such basic information? Hence the family remains an unmastered territory. We speak about the ties of the family with society, but we lack an effective mechanism for the reverse action. These are phenomena which are waiting to be managed while the nation does not have a single institution on the family. There is also much to be done in overcoming the old stereotypes but this involves concrete work. Here we must pool the efforts of the organizations including our own, the Bulgarian Trade Unions and the Komsomol.

[Question] What do women criticize you for when you speak with them?

[Answer] This happens often. They want us to be more demanding, more aggressive and shape public opinion more decisively. They say openly that this is our style. And I also say what I do not like in them.

[Question] What is this?

[Answer] Narrow-mindedness. That involvement only in one's own personal problems and which distracts one from what involves others, the city and the nation. This is a negation of all that we have been working for for decades.

[Question] And what does your son criticize you for?

[Answer] He sometimes says that I preach. Possibly I have such a weakness. And that I have not prepared him for the contradictions in life. But a person rarely gains from others what he gives of himself.

[Question] And what do you like in him and in other young people around you?

[Answer] I want to see involvement in others and my word means that you analyze a change, accept it and then develop it. And this also means high morality which impels others to work for the common good. You can always rely on such a person. This is why I like social



work as it is the gratuitous work of the heart. It builds the individual and relations and is not just banging one's fist on the table. The results are slow in coming and great endurance is required to prevail.

**[Question]** What should a woman not allow herself in a leading job?

**[Answer]** A personal example is most important both for a mother and for a woman leader. She is seen—sometimes mistrustfully—by many eyes. But this does not mean that she must be turned into a masculine being. She is strong in what is perceived as womanly virtues. This gentleness, expansiveness and tenderness are her weapon which makes the world richer.

**END OF**

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